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# HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL

# REMARKS

UPON THE

# TARIFF

OF THE

# COMMERCIAL TREATY:

WITH

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

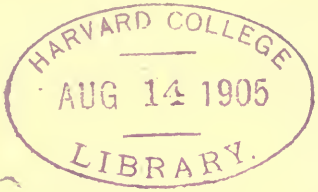
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# PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

IT is propoſed in the following pages to offer ſome general obſervations upon the conſtruction of Treaties, and the qualifications of a Commercial Negotiator; to point out that revolution in the trading ſyſtem of Europe, which was effected by an acknowledgment of the independent ſovereignty of the United States of Holland, at the Treaty of Munſter, and to conſider its principal variations and improvements ſince that period, in a deduction of ſome remarkable facts from the hiſtories of France and England. Such an Inquiry, impartially conducted, may not be thought unſeaſonable, at a time when the public attention is fixed on an important object ſo intimately connected with it. The particular reaſons for what has been attempted towards changing the form of our preſent Commercial Treaty, will hereafter be explained: in the mean while it will appear ſufficient juſtification to alledge, that by varying the ſituation of a picture, there is ſometimes a chance of bringing it into ſuch a light as ſhall produce a more ſtriking effect, and diſcover beauties and connections which had before eſcaped the eye of



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the obſerver. It is hoped, moreover, that this Inquiry will not upon the whole be found leſs intereſting or ſatisfactory, if, preferring the inveſtigation of truth to the gratification of party, it preſent itſelf, at firſt, under a form ſeldom adopted in popular treatiſes.

MAN may be conſidered as acting both in a natural and in a ſocial capacity. There are certain rights and obligations peculiar to each, of a quality immutable and indiſpenſable. The proper conſideration of theſe, marks out the diſtinction between the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations; and, at the ſame time, teaches us, why, though different in their application, they muſt in their origin be the ſame. That which in one caſe is ſaid to be the law of nature, regulating the conduct of individual men, is in the other, only the ſame law applied to the direction of individual communities. States, thus contemplated, aſſume the perſonal properties of men, and may acquire rights, and contract obligations, by expreſs engagements. Hence ariſes what has been termed, the Conventional Law of nations; which, though capable of being variouſly modified, and adapted

to the exigences and characters of particular ſtates, yet ſpringing, as we have ſeen, from the ſame pure ſource, the law of nature muſt be admitted, like that primary law itſelf, to bind the faith of ſocieties in public treaties and negotiations.*

Since, then, all thoſe rights, which ſtates derive from the neceſſary or natural law of nations, become, when thus qualified, the objects of poſitive convention, the conſtruction of ſuch ſolemn contracts muſt ſurely be a work of great difficulty, and importance; requiring, in the negotiator, a ſingular combination of ſpeculative and experimental ſagacity, and, in the contracting parties, a decided love of natural equity, and an inviolable attachment to national faith. Public Treaties, and the perſons of Ambaſſadors, have accordingly been held ſacred in all ages and nations; though, as communities are ever actuated by the ſame paſſions, and governed by the ſame principles, as the individuals which compoſe them, we ſhould not wonder to find them often expoſed to corruptions and abuſes. Many writers have em-

* PUFFENDORF. *Law of Nature and Nations*, B. II. chap. iii. § 23.

VATTEL. Pref. to *The Law of Nations.*

ployed themſelves in tracing theſe corruptions to their ſource, in pointing out their fatal conſequences, in urging arguments for the neceſſity of national honour, and in illuſtrating the duties of ſecial magiſtracy. But, in their reaſonings on this ſubject, they ſeem to have overlooked a point of no ſmall importance: for, perhaps, it is the remote cauſe of all thoſe corruptions which we lament. We know, that in private contracts, preciſion and perſpicuity are indiſpenſable; yet, what is the caſe with reſpect to national conventions, which, as they involve the intereſts and happineſs of kingdoms, cannot, either in their arrangement, or their language, be too clear and unequivocal? We are told of an Italian Politician, who uſed to boaſt, that he never ſpoke on critical conjunctures, but in ſo equivocal a manner, that his words would bear a double conſtruction: this pernicious ſophiſtry, often unintentionally perhaps, has been ſuffered too much to prevail in the ſcience of negotiation, and has rendered the ſtyle of ſome public treaties ſo embarraſſed and obſcure, and their form ſo perplexed, and void of deſign, that it is very difficult to diſcover their meaning. It has been made an objection to ſuch inſtruments, that they abound

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in needleſs repetitions, and circuitous phraſes; but, in the inſtance before us, let us conſider the ſolemnity of the compact, and the fatal conſequences of its infringement, and we ſhall allow, that no precaution, which can give new force to the condition, or ſhut up an avenue to ſubterfuge, ought to be deemed ſuperfluous. The fault in fact ſeems to be, that their language is in general too deſultory, carrying the affectation of order without its diſtinctions, and abounding in terms vague and indeciſive. The reaſon is clearly this: Inſtead of conſulting the ſpirit of the age in which they live, or the character and habits of the ſtates with whom they treat, many negotiators have been content to copy the forms and phraſes of their predeceſſors; which, however apt in their original application, muſt now neceſſarily be often uſed without either meaning or effect*. It is no great recommendation of theſe forms, that they

* Of this we have ſtriking proofs, whenever any extraordinary occaſion has rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for negotiators to leave the beaten track. Compare, with a view to ſtyle, the treaties between England and the Cherokee nations; or the kingdoms of Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers, and thoſe with France, and other civilized ſtates. JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 228. Vol. II. p. 302. 315. V. III. p. 15. 18.

originated, for the moſt part, in the Italian ſchool of politics.

The diſtreſs to which the power of France and Spain often reduced the ſtates of Italy, during the 16th century, and their frequent civil wars, gave riſe among them to numberleſs evaſions, in their public negotiations; which, had they been ſuffered to paſs away, with the occaſions that prompted them, might now have almoſt been looked upon as excuſable; but by the pernicious ſedulity of ſome learned men, they have been ſo carefully collected and arranged as to form, in a manner, a ſyſtematic code of political chicane; abounding in principles which are as diſgraceful to national wiſdom, as inimical to natural juſtice. Hence it happens, that the adjuſtment of theſe ſolemn compacts has ſometimes been treated as little more than a trial of dexterity in the art of overreaching; where it is the intereſt of each party to circumvent the other by fineſſe, to perplex buſineſs by ſubtleties, and to introduce every propoſal in dark and ambiguous language. * When we recollect with what ſcrupulous order the ceremonial of a congreſs for ſettling theſe national

* One of their principles ſeems to have been, that treaties with infidels need not be conſidered as binding. But (to reaſon from VATTEL) the law of nature, and not re-

national compacts, is conducted, and reflect on the ſtudies and habits of thoſe perſons who compoſe it, we are naturally led to expect ſome appearance of *arrangement* in the reſult of their deliberations. But this is not always the caſe. How many treaties are there, the materials of which ſeem thrown together, without any deſign, or even an attempt at arrangement, inſomuch that it is almoſt impoſſible to form a clear idea of what may be their object or effect, till viewed under a new diſpoſition; ſince it is not uncommon, beſide the want of order in particular articles, to find an intereſting ſtipulation abruptly ſuſpended by the intervention of a new ſubject, and as unexpectedly reſumed in ſome other part of the treaty. *

Theſe

ligion, regulates the treaties of nations, who negotiate with each other in the quality of Men, not of Chriſtians, Muſſulmans, &c. A religion which ſhould teach the contrary, and allow of infidelity in ſuch contracts, could never proceed from the Author of Nature, who is always conſtant and faithful. (*Law of Nations*, B. II. ch. xii. § 162.) Let it be remembered, that *Mahomet* urged to his followers, the neceſſity of an inviolable obſervance of treaties. OCKLEY's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, V. I. p. 76.

* This want of order in arrangement is feelingly regretted by a great Political Arithmetician, in the caſe of public papers, laid before the Houſe of Commons; (YOUNG's *Annals of Agriculture*, No. xxix. p. 396.) and

Theſe objections will receive ſtrong confirmation in the inſtance of marine treaties, in which the negotiator has certainly better opportunities of preſerving ſimplicity of language and arrangement, than in the more multifarious buſineſs of a general pacification. In no branch of diplomatics, however, have thoſe principles of natural equity, which conſtitute the law of nations, been more accurately defined, or more happily adopted into common practice, than in the regulations of commercial intercourſe. We muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed, if, in the minuter departments of ſuch negotiations, ſome deficiencies ſhould occur; for they require an inſight into remote conſequences, which nothing but long and practical experience in mercantile affairs can furniſh, and which, therefore, ſeldom falls within the reach of a ſtateſman. The eſtabliſhment of a Committee, for the purpoſe of preparing buſineſs of this kind for public debate, compoſed of men qualified, by their education and profeſſion, to form accurate opinions on ſubjects of trade, and who, by an extenſive correſpondence, are accuſtomed to inveſtigate the cauſes, and foreſee the effects,

it muſt be obvious to every perſon, who has had occaſion to conſult a collection of treaties, or any other documents, with a view to accurate information.

of

of every variation in the commercial balance, it can never be doubted would remove all defects of this kind, and is recommended by the example of the greateſt trading republic of modern times. A committee of the Privy Council can never be adequate to ſuch an undertaking in its full extent, for the ſame reaſons which diſable many negotiators; and the judgments of individual merchants is objectionable; becauſe, however qualified in other reſpects to give advice, they muſt of neceſſity claſh in their intereſts and prejudices, ſo as to make it difficult to draw as clear a deciſion from among them, as would be the reſult of an experienced committee. Without ſome ſuch plan as this, it is ſurely unreaſonable to expect that perfection in marine treaties, which their importance requires; becauſe, however brilliant in the higher branches of his office, a negotiator is very rarely qualified for the profeſſional labour of detail and calculation.* This appears on

* Though I entirely agree with Mr. YOUNG in his idea of the miſchievous effects of the *monopolizing* ſpirit, I cannot ſubſcribe to his opinion that this evil can be increaſed by ſuch an eſtabliſhment as a *Chamber of Commerce*. "Annals of Agriculture," Vol. III. p. 452. On the contrary I am at preſent perſuaded it muſt, among other advantages, contribute much to counteract it. In this I am poſſibly miſtaken, and ſincerely wiſh that he would take an

on the ſlighteſt view of the department; but, were we to conſider it more ſcrupulouſly, it would be found to demand ſuch a variety and extent of talents, as few minds are capable of diſplaying. Beſide a general knowledge of the trade, and reciprocal intereſts, of the contracting powers, he ought to be preciſely acquainted with their ſeveral kinds of induſtry and ſkill; to diſcover their wants, to calculate their reſources, and to weigh with nicety the ſtate of their finances, and the proportionate intereſt of their money; nay, further, he ſhould be able to aſcertain the comparative population and ſtrength of each country, together with the price and quality, both of firſt materials, and alſo of the labour beſtowed upon them; for this purpoſe he ſhould inquire into the operations of every claſs of merchants and manufacturers concerned in the treaty, ſhould conſult their expectations on each of its ſeveral branches, and collect their hopes and fears on the effect of ſuch a commercial revolution, on the competition of rival nations. A good treaty of commerce, independent of the art of negotiation, is pro-

early occaſion to enter more fully into this important ſubject, for which, by his long experience and acute genius in ſuch matters, he is ſo eminently qualified.

nounced

nounced by one, who well knew the extent and difficulty of the ſubject, to be "a maſterpiece of ſkill." *

The Abbe de Mably is of opinion, that particular regulations in commercial treaties are contrary to the true intereſt of ſtates. Were this doctrine once eſtabliſhed, the buſineſs might be compriſed in a very narrow compaſs, and all this detail of qualifications rendered uneſſential in the character of a plenipotentiary. After certain general rules for the freedom of commerce and navigation are adjuſted, he thinks it would be more prudent for each party to truſt for the reſt, to their internal policy, and to enact, among themſelves, ſuch laws as may be calculated to promote domeſtic induſtry, and to enable their own ſubjects to ſurpaſs their neighbours in all the great articles of traffic: "For," he adds, "every advantage granted to foreign trade is, in ſome degree, a check upon your own. It creates a competition; and, what was at firſt a particular privilege, becomes a general right: in the mean time, that branch of your domeſtic trade, whatever it be, inſtead of receiving an extenſive circulation from the unreſtrained induſtry of the people, is thus confined

* Postlethwayte's *Commercial Intereſt of Great Britain*, V. II. p. 423.

by

by foreign competition, and, in the end, entirely ſtagnates."* But ſuch a ſcheme as this ſeems objectionable on many accounts. It is at preſent only neceſſary to obſerve, that its adoption would defeat the leading idea of marine compacts, which are intended, not merely to lay down general rules for the freedom of commerce and navigation. Theſe are now ſufficiently underſtood, and practiſed by every civilized power, being founded on certain immutable principles, which have one only criterion of juſtice; but rather to reconcile the intereſts of the contracting parties, in many particular branches of trade; which, depending, in a great degree, on the variable taſte, manners, and ingenuity of mankind, muſt for ever ſtand in need of periodical reviſions. That ſuch are the leading objects in modern conventions, will appear more fully from the following reflections.

The Treaty of Munster, among other viſible effects on the law of nations, produced a conſiderable revolution in the commercial policy of Europe. When, by this Treaty, the United States of Holland obtained the acknowledgment of their ſovereignty, they vigorouſly applied themſelves to thoſe arts, by which alone they had been enabled to maintain

* *Droit Publique de l'Europe*, Tom II. p. 561.

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the conteſt, and to ſecure, at laſt, their freedom and independence. Ambition, not avarice, is uſually the characteriſtic vice of nations; but, whatever tranſient influence ambition may have had on the oppoſers of Spaniſh tyranny, during the ſtruggle, it was a paſſion by no means calculated to take root and thrive in the conſtitution of a Dutch republic. What had coſt them ſo much unabated labour to obtain, they reſolved to preſerve by a uniform ſyſtem of ſhrewd, ſelf-intereſted policy.* That commerce, which had been gradually increaſing for more than half a century, it was now their firſt care to extend and confirm by cautious negotiations.

The inactivity of thoſe maritime ſtates, which had always conſidered traffic as an object of too little dignity to be made the foundation of national grandeur, afforded them the opportunity; accordingly in leſs than fifteen years from the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, there was ſcarcely a power of any conſequence with whom they had not formed an advantageous alliance, merely with a view to commercial privileges. The perfection to which they carried the trade of *freightage*,

* See *The Political Maxims* of JOHN DE WITT, a work which proves its author to have been equally calculated to ſhine in the Compting-houſe and the Cabinet.

was

was a ſtroke of policy peculiar to themſelves; and to this they were firſt led as much, probably, by their ſituation as their avarice. Among many other new regulations for its ſupport, they appear to have introduced thoſe laws for adjuſting neutral traffic with belligerent ſtates, which now make ſo marked an article in all treaties of navigation and commerce;* the laws alſo of contraband were greatly improved by them, and the various ſpecies of mercantile property more accurately defined and ſecured.†

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* The *Hanſe Towns* were the predeceſſors of the Dutch in the Carrying-Trade, but never enjoyed it ſo excluſively, or in a manner ſo effectually ſecured to them. It ſeems as if the article, alluded to above, was firſt admitted by France, in a treaty of defenſive alliance between her and Holland, in 1662; and, being renewed in the Marine Treaty of 1678, has been ſince continued, and repeatedly confirmed. As this Treaty of 1662 was taken as the baſis of that commercial compact, which followed the Triple Alliance in 1668, it was admitted alſo at that time by the Engliſh, and repeated in the treaty of 1674, which now regulates, for the moſt part, our trade with Holland. JENKINSON's *Diſcourſe on the Conduct of Great Britain to Neutral Nations*, p. 30.—*Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 190. 202. 211.

† The regulations of contraband are founded on very rational principles, long in uſe among maritime ſtates. In the "Conſolato del Mare," a code of high antiquity, we read:----"in hoſtium eſt partibus qui ad bellum neceſſaria hoſti adminiſtrat." tit. 276. But there are many diſtinc-

The ſcience of negotiation became thus enriched with clearer maxims of maritime juriſprudence, and almoſt a new title added to the code of the law of nations.

There are marine treaties between many European ſtates, to be found in the hiſtory of very early ages; though they chiefly conſiſt of combinations for mutual defence againſt pirates, whoſe depredations in the Mediterranean and Baltic obſtructed the commercial intercourſe of thoſe times, and rendered alliances of this ſort very neceſſary; yet this was not, as ſome have aſſerted, their only object. The utmoſt extent of their views, however, ſeems to have comprehended little more than proviſions for certain tolls and duties, and general engagements for the protection of the perſons and property of

tions neceſſary to modify this rule. See Molloy *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, B. I. c. i. § 12. et ſeq. The fourth article in the treaty of 1674, already mentioned, was ſuggeſted by Queen Elizabeth's remarkable capture of the Hanſeatic ſhips, bound to Liſbon, with corn, for the ſupply of the Spaniards. It has been uniformly held, that goods calculated merely for luxury or pleaſure, can never be ranked as contraband. Upon this principle, in the year 1676, when the French and Dutch were at war, the Engliſh permitted the French to build a pleaſure yacht for their King at Portſmouth, and it was not conſidered as a breach of the neutrality. Molloy, ut ſupra, §. 24.

merchants

merchants trading to, or resident in, their respective dominions.* Even in ages much nearer our own, we have frequent instances of the contracted scale of their negotiations. There is indeed, a Treaty between England and France, in the year 1514, which comprises some articles of reciprocal advantage in many useful branches. But this is, I believe, almost the only exception.† Even the Society of the Hanse Towns, a confederacy, both in its object and importance, unrivalled in ancient or modern history, though known to have made considerable progress in commercial policy, as far as regards municipal institutions, yet, if we except some cautious stipulations, for privileges and protection in the ports of England and Denmark, never appears to have engaged very deeply, or to have adopted any system in its negotiations with foreign powers.§ Whoever shall compare the maritime conventions of earlier ages with "the particular article concerning navigation "and commerce," inserted in the Treaty of

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. V. p. 740. 763.

† Ibid. Tom. XIII. p. 412.

§ Werdenhagen, *De Rebus publicis Hanseaticis*, Tom. I. p. 73. and *the Convention at Lubec*, in 1613, Tom. II. p. 140.

Munster

Munſter, the ſubſequent Treaty between Holland and England, or England's Treaty with Portugal in 1654, by which ſhe acquired a free trade to the Portugueſe Colonies in Eaſt India, will be convinced that the Treaty of Munſter is the æra whence we ought to date our preſent ſyſtem of naval and mercantile policy.* Till that period, the outline was faint and contracted; it has ſince gradually acquired boldneſs and extent. In ſhort, it was reſerved for the ſuperior ſagacity of modern nations, founded on the experience of paſt ages, and for thoſe more humane virtues, which now characterize and adorn ſociety; to introduce an enlarged ſpirit of hoſpitality into our marine conventions, which has given an expanſion and ſtability to trade beyond all former examples; which has opened an unreſerved communication between almoſt every region of the habitable earth, and nearly ſwept away all ancient prejudices, ariſing from diſtinction of language, manners, or government. This ſpirit has lately diffuſed its influence over the rude inhabitants of the Baltic coaſts,‡ and ſeems at laſt about to complete its

* JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 42, 45, 72.

‡ *Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Ruſſia, in* 1766. JENKINSON's *Treaties*, V. III. p. 224.

its work, by marking out the ground for a reconciliation between two great kingdoms, whose hereditary enmity has too often disturbed the tranquillity of Europe.* From these necessary reflections, we are now naturally led to the immediate subject of our present inquiry, and to some other matters, connected with it.

224.—*Treaty of Commerce between Russia and Denmark, in* 1782, V. III. p. 268.—*Between Russia and Portugal, in* 1783, V. III. p. 314; and, in the same year, *An Edict of the Empress for a Free-Trade*, V. III. p. 331.

* "Commerce," says the Author of *The Spirit of Laws*, "is a cure for the most destructive prejudices; and to this "it is we are in a great measure indebted for the present "polish of European manners; because, having diffused a "general knowledge of the manners of all nations, there "naturally arises a comparison between them, and hence "results the advantage." *Esprit de Loix*, Liv. XX. ch. i.

Treaties are the Statute Laws of a statesman. Considering their importance, it is surprising that we have no collection of them sufficiently complete. RYMER brings them down to the year 1642; from that period, THURLOE's *State Papers* may be usefully consulted. *A General Collection of Treaties*, in 4 vols. 8vo. published in 1732, and JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, in 3 vols. 8vo. concludes them at the late Peace in 1783. A well arranged code of public treaties, with such historical and political remarks as should not only illustrate every material article in them, but also should compare and connect their partial and general effects, would surely be a valuable acquisition to the diplomatic science.

THE

THE TREATY OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE between France and Great Britain, ſigned at Verſailles the 26th of September 1786, conſiſts of 47 articles. Having premiſed, according to uſual form, that there ſhall ſubſiſt a reciprocal and perfect liberty of navigation and commerce, between the ſubjects of the two contracting parties, for all kinds of goods in their reſpective dominions in Europe,* it proceeds, in the firſt place, to extend certain privileges and protections to the perſons and property of merchants reſident in either country, and permits them, even in caſe of a rupture between the two crowns, to remain, and continue their trades, without any interruption; but in caſe their conduct ſhall render them ſuſpected, the term of twelve months is allowed them to remove, with their families, property, and effects.† Beſides free permiſſion to viſit, dwell in, and paſs through each other's dominions without paſſports, the ſubjects of both kingdoms have licence reciprocally to import in their own ſhips all merchandizes and goods, *not prohibited by law*, into the dominions of either party, to reſide therein, and to buy and ſell lawful merchandizes there, in any manner whatever; nor are they, on this account, to be

* Art. 1. † Art. 2.

liable to any duty or impoſition, except ſuch as ſhall be afterwards ſpecified, or to which the inhabitants of the country are liable;* it is therefore thought reaſonable to aboliſh the Capitation Tax, and the *Argent du Chef*, and to prohibit the future introduction of any ſuch arbitrary impoſt.‡ Freight duty, likewiſe, on ſhips belonging to his Britannic Majeſty, is removed, and, in return, the duty of five ſhillings is taken off French ſhips.† Diſputes in the ports of either kingdom, between the commander of a ſhip and his ſeamen, are to be ſettled, for the preſent, by the magiſtrate of the place; requiring the perſon accuſed to give the accuſer a written declaration, witneſſed by

* Art. 4, 5. The laws of England have ever been favourable to merchants. By *Magna Charta* the effects of foreign merchants are protected againſt ſeizure or confiſcation, in caſe of war. Cap. xxx. Upon which MONTESQUIEU obſerves, how high an idea one muſt entertain of the ſpirit of a nation, where ſuch a clauſe is made an article of its liberty! *Eſprit des Loix*, Liv. XX. ch. xiii.

‡ Art. 12. In countries where the caſe, comfort, and ſecurity of the inferior ranks of people are little attended to, *Capitation Taxes* are very common; becauſe, being levied at little expence, and rigorouſly exacted, they afford a very ſure revenue to the ſtate. SMITH's *Wealth of Nations*. B. V. chap. ii. V. III. p. 330, Edit. 1786.

† Art. 15.

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the magiſtrate, whereby he ſhall be bound to anſwer that matter in his own country, and after this it ſhall not be lawful for the ſeamen to deſert or detain the ſhip. For the ſtill further encouragement of foreign merchants in both countries, among other ſmaller privileges, they are permitted to keep their accompts, and to hold correſpondence, in what language they pleaſe, nor, unleſs in caſe of bankruptcy, are their books, or other inſtruments of trade, liable to be ſeized or inſpected.* They are moreover left entirely free to tranſact their own affairs, or to employ whom ever they ſhall think fit; as alſo to load and unload their ſhips, without interruption or interference of any Port-Officer whatever.‖ To complete the catalogue of theſe immunities, they are permitted the free exerciſe of religion, and the rights of ſepulture in the dominions of either ſovereign.‡ Theſe articles, thus ſelected and claſſed, ſeem properly to fall under one head, and may form the firſt diviſion of the Treaty.

* Art. 17. ‖ Art. 18.

‡ Art. 5, latter part. Moſt of theſe immunities have been partially introduced into all commercial Treaties, even as far back as the middle of the laſt century. See *Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal in* 1654. Art. XIV. and *between England and France, in* 1655. Art. XII.

The TARIFF declaring the duties apportioned to ſeveral ſorts of goods and merchandizes by this compact, the mode of levying them, and ſome Cuſtom-Houſe regulations, may be ſo connected as to form a ſecond diviſion, though ſtrictly conſidered, the ſixth article alone contains the tariff of the treaty. Of this article, therefore, it is unneceſſary here to ſpeak, for an obvious reaſon. I ſhall proceed to the other parts of this ſecond diviſion. After ſpecifying the rates on the moſt eſſential objects of commerce, and agreeing not to alter them, but by mutual conſent, it is ſtipulated, that all other merchandizes whatever, belonging to the ſubjects of the two ſovereigns, ſhall be admitted into their reſpective dominions on the footing of the moſt favoured European nation, and that ſuch ſubjects themſelves ſhall be included in all additional advantages, which may hereafter be on either ſide extended to navigation and commerce. * So likewiſe, in caſe either of the contracting parties ſhall eſtabliſh prohibitions, or ſhall augment the duties upon any part of the growth or manufacture of the other's country, not ſpecified in the tariff, theſe ſhall be extended generally to the ſame goods and mer-

* Art. 7.

chandizes

chandizes of the moſt favoured European nation; and, if it ſhall revoke prohibitions, or diminiſh duties, on the growth and manufactures of any other European nation, the ſame advantages ſhall be granted to the other contracting party, on condition of reciprocity.* In all this, however, there is a reſervation † to France in favour of Spain, agreeable to the 24th Article of the Family Compact of 1761, and to England, in conſequence of her Convention with Portugal in 1703. No pretence of any fraud or defect whatever, ſhall hereafter impower any perſon to inſpect or confiſcate the exportations of either country, but the buyer and ſeller are perfectly free to adjuſt their own price and bargain. ‡ Neither ſhall ſhips or cargoes be ſubject to confiſcation, on account of any manifeſtly unintentional miſtake or error in their entry or declaration; nor merchants, or maſters of ſhips, be liable to any penalties on this ſcore, if the goods omitted ſhall not have been landed prior to the declaration. § And

* Art. 11.

† Art. 7. and 11. For the particulars of theſe reſervations ſee *The Family Compact in* JENKINSON's Treaties, Vol. III. p. 70; and *The Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal*, Vol. I. p. 353.

‡ Art 8. § Art. 10.

further, to prevent impoſitions and frauds, ſuch merchandizes as are contained in caſks, cheſts, and other caſes, ſhall henceforth only pay duty for their real weight *.

The third head, under which the Treaty may be diſtributed, is, by much, the moſt extenſive, compriſing many very material points of maritime juriſprudence. In the firſt place, in order to regulate the doctrine of contraband in time of war, by clear and exact principles, we have, in ſeparate articles, two large catalogues of ſuch goods as do or do not fall under that deſcription; † the reſult of which is, that all arms, military implements, and ſoldiers on their voyage to employment in a military capacity, in either the fleets or armies of an enemy, ſhall be deemed contraband; as alſo money and proviſions which are in the act of conveyance to any place of an enemy, beſieged, blocked-up, or inveſted, and as ſuch they may be ſeized and confiſcated; in all other caſes, the ſhips and merchants of either contracting party have full liberty to ſail to the ports belonging to the enemies of the other party; and to paſs, not only between ſuch ports and neutral places, but alſo from one port of

* Art. 9. † Art. 22, 23.

the

the enemy to another, and therein to traffic, without oppoſition or diſturbance; and the like immunities are extended to the perſons and property of enemies found on board the ſhips of either of the two contracting parties. But, on the other hand, the perſons or property of either of the contracting parties, found on board enemies ſhips, though not falling under the title of contraband, are not to enjoy the ſame privilege, it being a ſettled maxim, that free ſhips make free cargoes, and the contrary.* For the effectual prevention of diſputes and miſunderſtandings, in theſe matters, it is further agreed, that in caſe either party ſhall be engaged in war, the ſhips of the other party ſhall be furniſhed with paſſports, drawn up according to a form annexed to the treaty; and alſo with certificates, ſpecifying the ſeveral particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ſhip ſailed, and whither ſhe is bound; and ſuch ſhip, falling in with the men of war or privateers of the other party, having exhibited her paſſport and certificate

* Art. 20. 29. Much uſeful information and ſound reaſoning on this ſubject may be found in JENKINSON's *Diſcourſe on the conduct of Great Britain with reſpect to neutral nations*, prefixed to his *Collection of Treaties*; and in MOLLOY, *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, B. I. ch. iii. §. 9. and the following.

(to

(to which the maſter is compellable), ſhall have liberty to proceed on her voyage without ſearch, chaſe, or any moleſtation whatever.* But if a merchant ſhip be not provided with ſuch paſſports and certificates, yet, upon examination before a proper judge, and upon ſufficient proof of her belonging to the ſubjects of either party, ſhe be found to contain no contraband goods, ſhe may be releaſed, together with her cargo, in order to proceed on her voyage. † It is alſo provided, that even in caſe of a diſcovery of contraband goods, it ſhall not be lawful to proceed to any act whatever of breaking open, or removing the ſame, till the lading ſhall be brought on ſhore, in the preſence of proper officers, and an inventory made by them of the ſaid goods. Neither ſhall it be lawful to make any uſe or advantage of them till after ſentence of confiſcation, pronounced upon them, in due and lawful proceſs, before the Judges of the Admiralty; the ſhip itſelf, and the other goods therein, being entirely free from confiſcation or detention on account of the prohibited goods, agreeable to a ſtipulation in a former article. ‡

* Art. 24. 26, 27. † Art. 33.

‡ Art. 20. 28.

To

To theſe proviſions for the free and honourable maintenance of commerce, in times when either of the parties ſhall be engaged in hoſtilities, and for the prevention of fraud and ſubterfuge, which are the never failing ſources of diſcontent and animoſity, it is further agreed, that no acts of hoſtility or violence ſhall be exerciſed by the ſubjects, &c. of either of the two crowns againſt the ſubjects of the other on any pretence whatever; neither ſhall they receive for ſuch purpoſe a commiſſion or patent of any kind, from any prince or ſtate, at enmity with either party, to act or arm as privateers or letters of repriſal, againſt them, under the ſevereſt puniſhment, beſide being liable to make full reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe whom they have injured. Nor ſhall either of the contracting parties grant letters of repriſal againſt the other, unleſs in the caſe of an injury, after proper application made to the miniſter reſident in the injured country, no redreſs can be obtained, and juſtice is obſtinately denied or delayed. †

Nor

† *Repriſals*, by the laws of England, are of two ſorts, *ordinary*, and *extraordinary*. The ordinary are either within the realm or without. Thoſe within the realm are granted by the Lord Chancellor, by Writ of Chancery, with

Nor ſhall any privateers, bearing commiſſions of a ſtate at enmity with either party, be ſuffered to arm in the ports of the other party, to carry on any traffic there, or even to purchaſe more proviſions than may enable them to reach the neareſt port of that inimical ſtate: moreover, no ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given to ſuch as have made prize of any ſhip or veſſel belonging to either party; nor ſhall the ſhips or goods of one party be ſuffered to be taken within cannon-ſhot of the coaſt, or in the ports, &c. of the other * On the

with the approbation of the King or Council, to arreſt the merchant ſtranger's goods here in England, of that nation which hath committed the injury. Thoſe granted in the *ordinary* way, to repair injuries out of the realm, are always under the Great Seal, and are conſidered as irrevocable, and as creating and veſting, as it were, a national debt in the grantee, to be ſatisfied, as is directed in the patent, out of the goods of that nation whence the injury proceeds. *Extraordinary Repriſals* are called *Letters of Marque*, and are granted by the Secretaries of State, with the approbation of King and Council. They are during the King's pleaſure; and, being intended only to haraſs or weaken the enemy in war, are always revocable. MOLLOY, B. I. ch. ii. FITZHERBERT, Nat. Brev. fol. 114. Stat. 4. Hen. V. c. vii. xiv.--Ed. IV. c. iv. et 4 Inſt. 124, 125. 137.

* Art. 3. 16. 40. latter part 41. It has been deemed a violation of the law of nations to aſſault an enemy in the port,

the contrary, their majeſties' ſhips of war, or the privateers belonging to their ſubjects, may carry the ſhips and goods, taken from their enemies, whither they pleaſe; neither ſhall any prize of this kind, brought by them into their reſpective ports, be liable to inquiry, ſearch, detainer, or ſeizure. * Ships of either of the two nations, retaken by the men of war or privateers of the other, if they have not been in the power of the enemy twenty-four hours, ſhall be reſtored to the owners, upon their paying a ſtated ſum, ſpecified in the article, for their redemption. † And in all diſputes reſpecting the legality of prizes, the judge ſhall direct an inventory and an appraiſement to be made of the effects, and ſhall require ſecurities from the captor, for paying the coſts, and from the claimant, for paying the value of

port, or under the protection, whether of friend, ally, or neuter. See a very remarkable caſe of Sir KENELM DIGBY, with the French, Venetians, and the Grand Seignor. MOLLOY, B. I. ch. iii. §. 7.

* Art. 40, firſt part.

† Article 34. HALE's *Hiſtory of Pleas of the Crown*, p, 163. *Conſulatu Maris*, cap. 283. 287: but in general this law of *Reſtitution* is extended, in all poſſible caſes, in favour of the owner. MOLLOY, *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, B. I. ch. ii. §. 21.

the

the prize on either iſſue of the ſuit; and in ſuch caſe of proper ſecurities given, the execution of the Judge's ſentence ſhall not be ſuſpended by reaſon of any appeal.* Ships or merchants of either kingdom, ſuffering any injury or outrage from the men of war or privateers of the other, ſhall have ample reparation; to which intent the perſons and effects of the offending party ſhall ſtand bound; but in the caſe of any kind of torture uſed by a captor upon the maſter, crew, or paſſengers, not only the captured ſhip itſelf, together with the perſons, merchandizes, and goods, ſhall be forthwith releaſed, but alſo ſuch as ſhall be convicted of the crime, together with their accomplices, ſhall ſuffer the moſt ſevere puniſhment. With this view, all commanders of privateers, before they receive their commiſſion, &c. ſhall be obliged to give ſufficient ſecurity, by good bail, as ſpecified in the article, that they will make complete ſatisfaction for all injuries or damages which may, during the cruize, be committed by themſelves, their officers, or others in their ſervice.† The ſhips of either party driven by ſtorm

* Art. 36.

† Art. 30. 42. 31. Theſe articles, originally inſerted in the Treaty between France and England in 1677, are, ſays Molloy, for their excellency, fit to be a ſtandard to all

ſtorm into any port of the other, ſhall not be compelled to unlade, or pay any duty; and in caſe, having firſt obtained lawful permiſſion, they unlade, and ſell a part of their cargo, for the purpoſe of victualling or refitting, they ſhall only pay duty for that part. And when entered into port, in any manner whatever, they are unwilling to land their cargoes, or break bulk, they ſhall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unleſs ſuſpected, on ſure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods to the enemies of either of the two contracting powers. In caſes of ſhipwreck, all that ſhall he ſaved muſt be reſtored upon claim made, to the proprietors or their factors, paying only the expences of the preſervation, according to the eſtabliſhed rates of ſalvage. *

After all theſe mutual agreements, with reſpect to their conduct towards each other, the contracting parties think it for the ſtill greater ſecurity of trade and navigation, to combine againſt the common enemy of commercial intercourſe; it is accordingly determined not to admit, harbour, protect, or aſſiſt in any port, city, town, or dwelling whatever, any Pirates,

all the nations of Europe. *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, B. I. ch. iii. §. 8, 9.

* Art. 19. 25. 37.

or Sea-Rovers, and that perſons convicted in ſo doing ſhall ſuffer condign puniſhment; moreover, that all the ſhips and cargoes, taken by pirates, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, ſhall be ſeized, and the property, being ſufficiently proved in the Court of Admiralty, ſhall be delivered to the owners or their factors, even though it has paſſed into other hands by ſale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And ſimilar cautions ſhall be uſed with all ſhips and merchandizes taken on the high ſeas, and brought into the ports of either nation. * Such is the ſum of the various materials

* Art. 39. This Law of *Reſtitution* to the owner of his property, piratically taken, is founded on Stat. 27 Ed. III. c. xiii. and is in the true ſpirit of the famous ATINIAN LAW, *De Uſucapione*, which provided, that *preſcription* ſhould not avail againſt goods fraudulently taken. "Quod ſurreptum eſt, ejus rei æterna auctoritas eſto." But common law bars the claim of the owner, if his goods have been ſold in market overt. AULUS GELLIUS, Lib. XVII. c. vii. ROLLE'S *Abridg.* 530. YELVERTON, 135. 1. SIDERFIN, 320. 367. By 28 Hen. VIII. c. xv.—11 and 12 W. III. c. vii.---4 Geo. I. ch. xi. §. 7, all pirates ſhall be tried as felons, and ſhall be excluded their clergy. Moreover, piracy and robbery on the ſeas is excepted out of the general pardon of felonies, both at common and ſtatute law, for it is a ſpecial offence, and therefore ſhould be eſpecially

rials ſelected out of the Treaty, which appear more immediately intended to promote the freedom and ſecurity of commerce and navigation; and to them may properly be ſubjoined the following articles, without which the wiſeſt and moſt equal code would want its full effect and ſanction.

In as much as it is propoſed, by the preſent Treaty, in all the aforementioned reſpects, the Protection of individuals,—Their Perſonal Liberty,—The Safety of Merchandize, Goods, and Effects,—The Succeſſion to Perſonal Eſtates,—all matters relative to the Lading and Unlading their ſhips, and other privileges and immunities, that the ſubjects of the two Crowns ſhall, in their reſpective dominions, be on the foot of the moſt favoured nation; and that there ſhall be an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; care is to be taken that all judgments and decrees, upon marine caſes, in the Court of Admiralty ſhall

eſpecially mentioned. COKE, 3 Inſt. tit. Admir.--20 Geo. II. c. lii. § 13. MOLLOY, B. I. ch. iv. "Formerly it was "only cognizable by the Admiralty Courts, which proceed "by the rules of the civil law, but Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. xv. "eſtabliſhed a new juriſdiction for this purpoſe, and ſince "that time marine felonies are tried by commiſſions of oyer "and terminer, under the King's Great Seal." BLACK-"STONE's *Comment.* B. IV. ch. xix. § 5.

be given in conformity to the rules of equity, and to the ſtipulations of this Treaty, by Judges who are above all ſuſpicion, and who have no manner of intereſt in the diſputed cauſe.* And upon proper complaint of injuſtice, their Majeſties ſhall reſpectively cauſe any ſentence to be reviſed and re-examined in their councils, and ſhall provide that juſtice be done to every complainant within the ſpace of three months. Further, in matters of diſpute, the ſubjects of each party may employ ſuch advocates, notaries, ſollicitors, and factors, as they think fit.‡ And, laſtly, for their mutual advantage, their Majeſties ſhall reſpectively appoint national Conſuls, in the dominions of each other, to ſuperintend the intereſts, and to guard the privileges of their trade.†

This

* Art. 44. 32. The original Court, to which queſtions of this ſort are permitted in England, is, the Court of Admiralty; and the Court of Appeal is, in effect, the King's Privy Council, the members of which are, in conſequence of Treaties, commiſſioned under the Great Seal for this purpoſe. 22 Geo. II. c. iii. BLACKST. *Comment.* B. III. ch. v. CLERKE's *Praxis Curiæ Admir.*

‡ Art. 35. 38.

† Art 43. The term of this Treaty is by Art. 46, fixed at *twelve years*, at the expiration of which, a twelvemonth is to be allotted for its neceſſary reviſion. It is always prudent,

This closes the third and last general division of the Treaty. Should there be any truth in what was before insisted upon, namely, that as disorder is a radical defect in every work of human skill, it is particularly objectionable in matters of so extensive and important a nature as national compacts, then this new distribution may not it is hoped be without its advantage; since even the present treaty with all its excellencies will not perhaps be found altogether free from this common defect. If, therefore, by thus presuming, not only to compress and arrange its materials, but, in some instances, to vary its language, I shall be thought to have given it a more interesting and intelligible form, this merit must at least be allowed me to claim, that I could not have selected from the whole diplomatic code a more honourable testimony to the justice of my assertion.

Among other hasty observations on this Treaty, it has been discovered to be derived, through the Treaty of Utrecht, from one ratified between France and England in the year 1677. But, instead of resting our inquiries upon a period

prudent, says VATTEL, to limit the term of a commercial treaty; because, from the nature of its object, conjunctures may arise to make it, in many points oppressive to one of the contracting parties. *Law of Nations*, B. II. ch. ii. § 29.

which ſo neceſſarily excites unfavourable ideas of the motives for ſuch a negotiation with France, it would be more candid to carry them back to a remoter age, eſpecially, if in that age we can trace it to a leſs corrupted ſource. The Treaty of 1677 has ſmall claims to originality. With regard to its principal ſtipulations, they are to be found in the commercial part of the Treaty of Munſter, the acknowledged parent of the moſt eſſential branches of all our ſubſequent negotiations;* and, more particularly, (becauſe there applied to the ſame object) of a treaty between France and England in the year 1655. Which though, like the reſt, it was chiefly employed on the then new and favourite topic of neutralities, and on general points of maritime juriſdiction; yet, obviouſly having for its object the eſtabliſhment of a reciprocal trade between the two countries, may, in this reſpect, be conſidered as the genuine archetype.† Hence, therefore, our inquiries will moſt properly begin.

By this Treaty it was agreed, that the ſubjects of England, Ireland, and Scotland might freely

* Treaty of Commerce between England and Holland in 1654. *Collect. of Treaties*, V. I. p. 42.---With Sweden---Portugal---Denmark p. 69. 71. 75. With Holland again in 1668, p. 190, and again in 1674.

† *Collect. of Treaties*, V. I. p. 82.

import

import into France the growth and manufactures of their country, and, in return, ſhould receive as freely, the wines, woollen and ſilk goods of France.* This article gave great offence to Spain. It appears, from a memorial preſented to CROMWELL by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, that ſhe was the only power of any maritime conſequence, whom he had omitted in his commercial alliances. And ſhe urges her ſuperior claim to the Protector's favour, on the ground of being the firſt State to acknowledge the Engliſh Republic; while, on the contrary, France had ever been the ſecret fomentor of inſurrections there.‡ When the treaty was ratified, Spain ſeized upon the ſhips and effects of Engliſh merchants, in all her ports, to a very conſiderable amount; the conſequence of which was the declaration of a war, ſo ruinous to Spain, that ſhe never afterwards was regarded by France as her commercial rival. Beſide the removal of ſuch an obſtacle, the ſame effect was ſtill further promoted by this Treaty; for France, by her connection with England, was enabled to claim a ſhare in the carrying-trade, till then monopolized by the Dutch, and

* Art. 5.

‡ See the Memorial in JENKINSON's *Treaties*, V. I. p. 80.

to eſtabliſh companies and factories of her own.* At this period therefore, I think, we may, with ſome propriety, place the riſe of her commercial grandeur.

Commerce, ſays VOLTAIRE, was born in France as early as the reign of Francis I. but ſhe died with that King, and did not revive till a century after.† Many ſteps had been taken during the adminiſtrations both of SULLY and RICHLIEU, to regulate and improve the trade of that country; their good effects, however, did not become viſible till the age of Louis XIV. towards the middle of whoſe reign, the celebrated COLBERT undertook his general reform. This miniſter began with eſtabliſhing manufactories of various kinds, and holding out encouragements to induſtry and œconomy. The ſchemes of his predeceſſors, he ſaw, had been rendered abortive for want of that free circulation, which in every country is ſo eſſential to trade; for the different provinces, being each

* It appears, from the concluſion of this buſineſs, that CROMWELL and MAZARINE perfectly underſtood each other. The price of the Treaty was the tradition of the Royal Family, and their neareſt friends, and their baniſhment from France. *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 85.

† Siècle de Louis XIV. Tom. II. p. 123.

under

under its own particular government, laid ſuch heavy and irregular duties upon the induſtry of their neighbours, as greatly retarded, and, in ſome inſtances, effectually ſhut out all communication among them. With a view to get rid of theſe obſtructions, COLBERT removed all export duties to the frontiers, and cauſed a general book of rates to be made, by which all the provinces were in future to be equally regulated. Had he acted thus prudently in other points, his ſyſtem would have been unexceptionable; but, by proceeding (from a falſe idea of encouraging domeſtic manufactures) to lay heavy duties and prohibitions upon the importation of all ſuch foreign goods as would compete with their own, he threw ſuch a reſtraint upon every department of trade, as prevented the full effect of many of his beneficial intentions. "He "endeavoured," ſays the excellent Author of the *Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations*, "to regulate the induſtry and com- "merce of a great country, upon the ſame model "as the departments of a public office; and, "inſtead of allowing every man to purſue his "own intereſt, his own way, upon the liberal plan "of equality, liberty, and juſtice, he beſtowed "upon certain branches of induſtry, extraor-

"dinary privileges, while he laid others under "as extraordinary reſtraints. In this, and in "many other inſtances, he ſuffered himſelf, "notwithſtanding his great abilities, to be im- "poſed upon by the ſophiſtry of merchants "and manufacturers."* In the year 1662, *a Council of Commerce* was created, at which the King himſelf very frequently preſided, who promoted, by noble premiums, the new eſtabliſhments in various parts of his dominions.† Among theſe the moſt remarkable were the woollen, ſilk, and gobelin manufactories. The woollen manufactory, in the province of Languedoc,‡ by its neighbourhood to the port of Marſeilles and to Spain, not only was able to procure the fineſt materials at a cheaper rate than any other country, but was furniſhed alſo with commodious inland conveyance, by means of the great canal, and with an eaſy tranſport to

* Book IV. ch. ii. and again B. IV. ch. ix. For a fine delineation of a commercial ſyſtem, ſee the *Political Teſtament* of Cardinal RICHLIEU, upon which it is thought COLBERT firſt founded his idea of reform. Part II. ch. viii. and ix.

† ANDERSON's *Hiſtory of Commerce*, V. II. p. 327.

‡ A manufactory of fine broad cloths was eſtabliſhed alſo at Abbeville, which to this day maintains a great degree of reputation.

Italy

Italy and the Levant, where, by underſelling the Engliſh, it aſſailed the market in a double capacity; receiving in return for its imported induſtry, raw materials for the ſilk manufactories, on the ſame eaſy terms. This ſeemed to threaten fatal conſequences to our Turkey Company, who might be conſidered as almoſt in their infancy,* and, through them, to our woollen trade; but encouragements from the Crown, and timely aſſiſtances from Parliament, co-operating with the impolitic conduct of the French miniſters, enabled them to withſtand the competition. Indeed, we are told, in a petition preſented to Parliament by the Weaver's Company, on occaſion of the Utrecht Treaty, that between the years 1664 and 1713, our trade with thoſe countries had increaſed twenty times. The cauſes which contributed to the embarraſſment and decline of French commerce, were oppreſſive and ill-regulated Cuſtoms, unjuſt Monopolies, the Military Ambition of Louis XIV. and, ſtill more fatal than all theſe combined, Religious Perſecution, the moſt effectual check upon the

* This Company was erected at the beginning of the century, by King James I. and its traffic was, about fifty years after, computed to bring in an annual revenue of 320,000. ANDERSON's *Hiſt. Com.* V. II. p. 373.

commercial ſpirit of a country. To one remarkable event of this kind muſt be attributed that total revolution in trade, which has taken place, during this century, in Europe, I mean the *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, in the year 1685. In conſequence of this ſtep, on a moderate computation, about five hundred thouſand perſons tranſported their ſkill, their induſtry, and their ſtock, into England, Holland, Brandenburgh and Switzerland, to the great depopulation of their native country, and neceſſarily to the impoveriſhment of the State. To the immenſe number of theſe refugees, who ſettled in England, we are indebted for many uſeful improvements, and curious inventions, in our manufactories of woollen ſtuffs, ſilk, linen, paper, glaſs, hats, watches, cutlery, hardware, and iron. But the amazing wealth which her extenſive commerce had accumulated, prevented France from immediately feeling the effects of this ruinous emigration, which perhaps ſhe might ſtill have recovered, but for another ſtep, which excited the jealouſy of her neighbouring rival. Too eager to monopolize the trade of Europe, it had long been the policy of France, as already hinted, to aim at ruining that of England by ſuch heavy duties upon many commodities as amounted to a total prohibition, though it would have been much

much more for her intereſt to have encouraged that predilection for her growth and manufactures which then prevailed. In fact, while we had been giving every poſſible encouragement to their manufactories, and the produce of their ſoil, they had been gradually increaſing the duties upon all Engliſh goods.* The eyes of the country were at laſt opened, and in 1678, very contrary to the inclination of the King, an act was paſſed "to "prohibit the importation of French goods, as "highly detrimental to this kingdom." The excellent effects of this law were ſoon felt; for, in leſs than twenty years, at the Treaty of Ryſwick, the amount of our annual exports was more than doubled:† and this notwithſtanding a very material interruption, as the prohibition

* Report of a Committee, &c. in the *Hiſtory and Defence of the late Parliament*, in 1713, p. 227 and 228. Our cloths, which in 1644 paid only a duty of 9 livres per piece, or 25 ells ¼ Engliſh, paid in 1664, 40 livres, and in 1667 this duty was doubled. In 1699, in conſequence of the peace of Ryſwick, it was reduced to 55 livres, which was adopted in the propoſed tariff at Utrecht. See a paper called "Conſequences of a law for reducing the duties on French wines, brandy, ſilks and linen, to thoſe of other nations, with remarks on *Mercator*." No. III. A miniſterial work, at that time publiſhed by DAN. DE FOE.

† ANDERSON'S *Hiſt. Com.* V. II. p. 180.

WAS

was only laid for three years; and during the remainder of Charles the Second's reign, no parliament had aſſembled; the firſt act of his ſucceſſor was to get it repealed; ſo that, from 1685, to the Revolution, this country, ſays ANDERSON, had nearly been beggared by an inundation of French commodities.* In 1689 there was a convention between England and the United Provinces, for the purpoſe of more effectually checking the French trade; and in the ſame year another act was paſſed to prohibit their importations.‡ If to theſe natural effects of national jealouſy, we add the new ſources of commerce which England had now opened, who, no longer dependent on her neighbours, began to ſupply herſelf with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Sileſia; with paper, ſtuffs and ſilks, by means of the new manufactories eſtabliſhed at home; and conſider alſo, that the duties had now begun to be appropriated by Parliament to particular uſes and exigencies of State, and could not therefore be readily removed, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed that ſuch difficulties ſhould have ariſen at

* ANDERSON's *Hiſt. Com.* V. II. p. 182. *Britiſh Merchant*, p. 319.

‡ Stat. 1 W. and M. c. xxxiv. *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 292.

Ryſwick,

Ryſwick, as to have rendered it impoſſible for the plenipotentiaries to ſettle any tariff between the two nations, or that ſince that time mutual ſuſpicions and prejudices ſhould have increaſed thoſe obſtacles to a commercial communication, which it is the object of the preſent treaty to remove.*

While the miniſter of Louis XIV. was aiming to excite a ſpirit of induſtry among his countrymen, and to extend their foreign trade by reſtrictions and monopolies, an event took place in England which laid the foundation of our future maritime glory. This was the paſſing of the famous NAVIGATION ACT, upon which, and its ſalutary conſequences, I ſhall proceed to offer a few obſervations: The firſt outline of this *Great Maritime Charter*, as Sir JOSIAH CHILD calls it, † was ſketched in the Long Parliament, but it was not till nine years after that it received its legal confirmation. ‡ As

* Negotiations at Ryſwick, V. II. Mem. xxiv. p. 464, and the following.

† Preface to his *Diſcourſe of Trade*, in 1698.

‡ The original idea of this act may be found in ſtat. 14 Ric. II. c. vi. repeated in 4 Hen. VII. c. x. and again, in the article of wine, in 5 Eliz. c. v. § 11. Since its promulgation in 1660, it has been conſtantly receiving additions

As the ſtrength and glory of this nation avowedly depend upon its marine, and as this can only be reſpectable in proportion to the number of its ſailors and ſhipping, nothing could have been more prudently deviſed than an eſtabliſhment for a monopoly of the trade of their own country, for the ſailors and ſhipping of Great Britain, which is the leading object in this juſtly celebrated Act. Till that time the Dutch had been the factors of Europe; and, while they employed an immenſe quantity of men and ſhips in carrying the produce of our foreign trade, our own marine was laid by neglected, and our ſeamen (except when particular caſes called for an exertion) were totally unoccupied. The Navigation-Act ſtruck at the root of this evil. It excluded the Dutch from being any longer the carriers to Great Britain, or from importing to us the goods of any other European country, and, at the ſame time, encouraged a ſeminary for a national marine. "It is "not impoſſible, (ſays Dr. SMITH) conſider-

tions and reviſals. By 14 Car. II. c. xi. three freſh clauſes were added; and again, by 15 Car. II. c. vii. it was confirmed by proclamation. In 1685 it laid five ſhillings per ton on all foreign ſhips employed in our coal trade, and other regulations were added by 1 Jac. II. c. xviii.—9 W. and M. c. xxii. and later ſtatutes.

" ing upon what inimical terms we then were " with Holland, that ſome of its regulations " may have proceeded from national animoſity, " though they are as wiſe as if they had all " been dictated by the moſt deliberate wiſ- " dom." * Its wiſdom however has been unaccountably called in queſtion, by ſome of thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits, whoſe glory it is, in all ages, to cavil at the moſt prudent acts of Government. Their objections are founded on the example of France, whoſe policy it has ever been to connect herſelf as much as poſſible with neutral nations. This ſtep, it is ſaid, may at firſt ſeem impolitic, becauſe ſhe employs ſuch nations as the carriers and factors of her trade; but hence ariſes the advantage. In time of hoſtilities ſhe is enabled to convert her merchant ſhips into private ſhips of war; and, by leaving her trade in the hands of neutral powers, whatever ſhe loſes in Freight is thus made up by the ſaving of Inſurance. But this reaſoning ſhould never convince us that it can be for the real intereſt of any commercial country to encourage a ſyſtem of maritime neutralities, by entruſting the conveyance of her trade to foreigners; for, in proportion as that

* *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii.

trade

trade increaſes, the poſitive and relative ſtrength of a ſtate muſt be diminiſhed in favour of her rivals. To this may be added, another radical evil in ſuch a meaſure: It renders the manufactures of a country in ſo great a degree ſubſervient to the humour of ſtrangers, that the revenue and reſources of the ſtate that ſells will be, in ſome of their moſt productive branches, totally in the power of the ſtate that navigates. A nation, in ſhort, which is dependent upon another for the exportation of its ſuperfluities, not only gives up the regulation of its own markets, but relies on others, both for the quantity and price of foreign commodities. Herein conſiſts the difference between what has been called an *active* and a *paſſive* trade; the former of which diſtinguiſhes the mercantile ſyſtem of Holland, from that of all other ſtates, whether ancient or modern; and it is chiefly with a view to the ſuperior advantages of ſuch a trade, that the beſt writers on political and commercial matters, ſince the publication of this Act of Navigation, have agreed in their opinions of its merit. Sir JOSIAH CHILD aſſerts, that "without it we had not been owners of one half the ſhipping nor trade, nor employed one half the ſeamen which we did in his time," not more than thirty years from its

its paſſing. * What opinion the Dutch entertained of it may be gathered, not only from the earneſtneſs with which their plenipotentiaries at Breda contended for its repeal, † but from a confeſſion of one of the ableſt politicians in their Republic, who ſays, "by the "politic act paſſed in England, in the year "1660, it is much to be feared that the Eng-"liſh merchants will in time carry away a "great part of the Dutch trade." ‡ And afterwards, ſpeaking of the comparative ſtate of the two countries—"Since the prohibition of importing any goods in foreign ſhips into England, except ſuch as are of the growth and manufacture of the country to which thoſe ſhips belong, all our navigation to that kingdom is at a ſtand." § DAVENANT aſſerts, that in the year 1688, the tonnage of our mercantile ſhipping was almoſt double its quantity in the year 1666, owing to the ſalutary operation of the Navigation-Act; ‖ and ſo dazzled was the na-

* *Diſcourſe of Trade*, ch. iv. *concerning the Act of Navigation*, p. 1, which ſeems to contain a complete anſwer to moſt of the objections, then and ſince raiſed againſt it.

† *Collection of Treaties*, V. I. p. 196.

‡ DE WITT's *Intereſt of Holland*, Part I. ch. xxii.

§ DE WITT, Part II. ch. viii.

‖ Political Works, B. II. p. 29.

tion by this rapid aſcenſion and increaſing ſplendour of trade, that the writers of that time conceived the commercial proſperity of England to be in its zenith.* A particular revolution, effected by the Act in queſtion, is very well remarked by the Author of the *Wealth of Nations*. He obſerves, that "ſince its eſtabliſhment the Colony trade has "been continually increaſing, while many "other branches of foreign trade, eſpecially "of that to other parts of Europe, have been "continually decaying. Our manufactures for "foreign ſale, inſtead of being ſuited, as be-"fore the Act, to the neighbouring market of "Europe, or to the more diſtant one of the "countries which lie round the Mediterranean "ſea, have, the greater part of them, been "accommodated to the ſtill more diſtant one of "the colonies, to the market in which they have "the monopoly, rather than to that in which "they have many competitors."† Upon this ground, alſo, objections have been raiſed, to the expediency of continuing a law, which has not only thus diverted a copious ſtream out of its proper channel, but has drawn it from a ſure

* Anderson, *Hiſt. Com.* V. II. p. 187.

† V. II. B. IV. ch. viii.

and

and regular courſe, to one which is now become at beſt very precarious.* To ſay nothing of the weakneſs of the latter part of this aſſertion, which our increaſing trade with America now ſufficiently demonſtrates, it may be urged againſt theſe objectors, that in political queſtions it is not always to be conſidered only what will increaſe the wealth, but what will contribute to the ſtrength and grandeur of a nation. Let the Navigation-Act, then, be placed in this, its proper light, and there are few, I believe, who will be perverſe enough to deny that the naval ſpirit, ſo peculiar to our country, is the offſpring of that ſtatute; "a ſtatute (to uſe the words of an excellent judge of its effects) "which alone hath fortunately outweighed all

* Suggeſted by theſe, and other principles of the ſame nature, a bill was lately depending in Parliament, for laying open the trade between America and our Weſt-India Iſlands. The object ſought was the excluſive trade of America; the effect to be produced, among many other evils, would probably have been, the eſtabliſhment of their marine upon the ruins of our own. On this ſubject conſult Lord SHEFFIELD's *Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States*, eſpecially p. 158 et ſeq. et 295 et ſeq. It is a work which cannot be too ſtrongly recommended to the ſerious attention of every well-wiſher to the manufactures, trade, and maritime power of Great Britain.

" our other follies and extravagancies. Though " condemned by ſome hiſtorians, and unnoticed " by others, it hath proved the fertile ſource of all " our naval power, hath operated inſenſibly to " our preſervation, and been the ſpring from " whence hath flowed the wealth and greatneſs " of England." * Of this, therefore, as of the allowed conſequence of that ſpirit, which became generally diffuſed among the people, by the Act of Navigation, I ſhall now take a ſummary view.

Were we to attempt to form our opinions of the ſtate of England's manufactures and commerce, from the Revolution to the opening of the preſent century, upon the ſole authorities of political writers at thoſe times, it would be a taſk of great difficulty. Few periods can furniſh more ſtriking contraſts of political ſentiment. On one ſide we are preſented with warm and encouraging proofs of national proſperity, on the other, with diſmal calculations of decreaſing wealth, and forebodings of general inſolvency. We are now, by the moſt authentic documents, convinced that the flattering ſide of the picture was drawn by the cor-

* JENKINSON's *Diſcourſe*, &c. prefixed to his Treaties, p. xxix.

rect hand of experience, while the oppoſite was nothing more than the haſty reſult of deſponding theory. * The war which terminated in the Peace of Ryſwick, was certainly very oppreſſive to the foreign trade of this country, and, as Mr. CHALMERS has ſtated from the firſt authority, had depreſſed it in the year 1694 to a very low pitch, † but from that time to the concluſion of the war, it ſeems gradually to have revived. During theſe convulſions, however, domeſtic traffic, and the intereſts of general commerce, were daily gathering that ſtrength and elaſticity which ſoon enabled them to throw off their incumbent weight, and to riſe to a point unknown to any former period. Many new manufactories were eſtabliſhed, and many old ones revived; in moſt of which, the ſkill of the French refugees, united with our native induſtry, now ſeemed to promiſe the higheſt perfection. The opening of a national bank greatly promoted the circulations of capitals, and foreign fiſheries afforded a new ſemi-

* POLEXFEN's *Diſcourſe on Trade, Coin, and Paper Credit.*---DAVENANT's *Diſcourſe on Trade in* 1698.

† *An Eſtimate of the comparative ſtrength of Great Britain*, &c. p. 62.

nary for our marine. * During the ſhort ſpace of four years, from the Peace of Ryſwick to the acceſſion of Queen Anne, the rapid improvement of our national revenue is remarkably ſtriking. In leſs than four days two million ſterling was ſubſcribed, and there were perſons ready to ſubſcribe as much more. "Till "that time," ſays ANDERSON, "there had ne-"ver been ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of England's "opulence. And after ſo expenſive a war, "what an high idea muſt ſuch a circumſtance "have given foreigners of the wealth and gran-"deur of this country!" † Yet, notwithſtanding this aſſertion, founded on documents the moſt incontrovertible, namely, the Papers of various Public Offices, and the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, together with many collateral confirmations, there were not wanting malignant and

* Jos. GEE's *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain*, edit. 1755, p. 5. At the Revolution the value of our annual exports was 4,086,087l. In the year 1694, in conſequence of the war, it ſunk below the amount at the Reſtoration, which was 2,043,043l. and, though at the peace of Ryſwick in 1697, it had greatly recovered, yet it did not equal the amount at the beginning of the war.

† *Hiſtory of Commerce*, V. II. p. 223. At the peace of Ryſwick, the value of our exports was 3,525,907l. in 1701, 6,045,432l.

wrong-

wrong-headed men, who, as in the former reign, repreſented the trade of the nation to be in a precarious and expiring ſtate.* "Such "proceedings," ſays the elegant Eſtimator of the Strength of Great Britain, "caſt a juſt cenſure "on the furious party conteſts, during the laſt "years of Queen Anne, in reſpect to the con-"dition of our commerce; as if the proſpe-"rity or the ruin of manufactories and trade, "were influenced by the continuance of ſtateſ-"men in the poſſeſſion or in the expectation of "emoluments and power." † The conteſts here principally alluded to, are thoſe which broke out in conſequence of the *Propoſals made in the Negotiations at Utrecht for a Commercial Treaty with France.* This event has been lately ſo often alluded to by party writers, on each ſide of the queſtion, and is ſo cloſely connected with our preſent ſubject, that I ſhall make no apology for introducing ſome particulars of it. And to this I am the more willingly led, becauſe, among all their maſs of materials, I have not been able to collect any account of the tranſaction ſufficiently diſpaſſionate to be

* W. Wood's *Survey of Trade.* See particularly the vile Dedication to King George I. p. 9.

† Chalmers's *Eſtimate*, &c. p. 84.

either faithful or conſiſtent. Upon the recollection of ſome circumſtances which have been ſtated about the reſpective ſituations of France and England, at the latter end of the laſt century, their flouriſhing trade, ſtill in the remembrance of our people, the infant ſtate of many of our moſt valuable manufactures, together with thoſe illiberal prejudices, and impolitic jealouſies, which fettered commerce with heavy duties and prohibitions, it will not ſeem ſurpriſing that any negotiation between the two countries on the foot of reciprocal advantage, ſhould, in the year 1713, have been an alarming and unpopular meaſure.

For the origin of the tranſaction we muſt go back to the year 1709, when the EARL OF SUNDERLAND directed the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations to conſider on a Treaty of Commerce with France; and a correſpondence was accordingly opened between ſome of the firſt merchants, in each nation. Mr. ST. JOHN, afterwards LORD BOLINGBROKE, was very aſſiduous in this buſineſs; and, upon the repreſentations of theſe merchants, and the written reſult of this correſpondence, he drew up a rough draught of a marine treaty, and laid it before the Houſe of Commons in 1711. It was by them

them tranſmitted to a committee of merchants, and upon their opinion and reviſion it was made the baſis of the Utrecht negotiation.* Many clauſes are ſaid to have been copied from the ineffectual propoſitions made at Ryſwick, and were for the moſt part of a general nature; tending to adjuſt the forms and conditions of commerce and navigation, agreeable to thoſe rules of univerſal equity, which the maritime States of Europe had for ſome time agreed in adopting, for their mutual convenience. Had the Treaty contained nothing more than this, it would have paſſed without a murmur; but there were, unfortunately, two Articles, which ſeemed to ſtrike at the root of our national wealth and commerce. The former of which *in general terms placed France and Great Britain in a commercial relation to each other, on the foot of the moſt favoured nations*; the latter more *particularly ſpecified* the nature and extent of thoſe terms; ſtipulating, among other things, *that no more cuſtoms or duties be paid for goods and merchandizes brought from France to Great Britain, than what are payable for goods and merchandizes of the like nature imported into Great Britain, from any other country in Europe. That all laws made in Great*

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. XVII. p. 347.

*Britain*

*Britain ſince the year* 1664, *for prohibiting the importation of any goods and merchandizes, coming from France, which are not prohibited before that time, be repealed, and that the general tariff made in France in the year* 1664, *take place there again, and the duties payable in France by the ſubjects of Great Britain, for goods imported and exported, be paid according to the tenor of the tariff above-mentioned, with an exception however to certain merchandizes, that is to ſay, manufactures of wool, ſugar, ſalted fiſh, and the product of whales.** The Treaty containing theſe articles was ſigned at Utrecht on the laſt day of March, was ratified by the Queen, and publiſhed by Royal Authority in the month of April 1713. On the 14th of May it was moved in the Houſe of Commons for leave to bring in "A Bill to make effectual "the 8th and 9th Articles of the Treaty," which was carried by a majority of 252 votes, againſt 130, and it was accordingly ordered for the 30th of the ſame month.‡ An order was at the ſame time made for an exact ſtatement of the whole amount of imports and exports of the woollen manufacture with France, and with

* Art. 8 and 9. JENKINSON's *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. II. p. 45.

‡ Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. XVII. p. 352, and the following.

Portugal,

Portugal, from 1668 to 1669, and alſo of the wines of France and Portugal, imported into London and the Out-ports during 16 years, namely, from 1696 to 1712, to be delivered into the Houſe.* No ſooner was the bill made public, than a univerſal clamour was raiſed againſt it by the merchants and manufacturers. Petitions, Memorials, and Remonſtrances were ſent from all quarters of the kingdom. The Turkey Company, the Companies of Hudſon's Bay, and of Eaſt and Weſt India;‡ the cloth, ſilk, and woollen manufacturers took the alarm, and it at laſt became ſo general, that not only the principal towns and trading companies in Great Britain, but even our Factories at Hamburgh and Portugal ſent their Remonſtrances to Parliament.† National jealouſy had been

* Commons Journals, Vol. XVII. p. 365, and the following, wherein may be ſeen the various ſtatements.

‡ Commons Journals, Vol. XVII. paſſim from p. 350.

† The alarm of the Eaſt-India Company aroſe from that part of the 9th Article which ſtipulated in favour of *goods and merchandizes of Great Britain to be imported into France.* They conſidered themſelves as excluded the benefit of this clauſe, unleſs the favour were extended to the produce of other countries, to be imported into France, in Engliſh ſhips. Their fears, however, were appeaſed by a promiſe that ſuch an amendment ſhould be propoſed.

awakened, and the minds of the people prepared to reject any overtures for mutual advantages of trade with France, by a Bill which was brought into Parliament at the opening of that Seffion, for ſuſpending for two months the duty of 25l. per ton on French Wines imported, and which had produced a very ſpirited Memorial from the Portugueſe Envoy, declaring, in the name of his royal maſter, that "in caſe the ſubject of the 9th "article of the Treaty ſhould be confirmed by "Parliament, and the Wines of France be "brought down to a level with thoſe of Por-"tugal, he would immediately lay a prohibition "on all Engliſh goods imported to his coun-"try."* Though of courſe each ſeparate petition, &c. drew its argument of complaint from the probable injury which that claſs of men, by whom it was preſented, were likely to ſuffer; yet there was little variety in the general ſubſtance and tendency of the objections. It was urged, that Parliament, by paſſing the Bill, would not only take the regulation of the balance of trade out of their own hands, but alſo would grant advantages to France, without an equal return; that, by her connection with

* *A Hiſtory and Defence of the late Parliament*, publiſhed in 1713, p. 233.

Spain,

Spain, and the ſuperior convenience of her ports, ſhe could procure ſome of the moſt valuable articles on much more eaſy terms than Engliſh traders could, and the price of labour being two thirds lower than in England, they could work up their materials cheaper, and conſequently could underſell them in every market. Thus, in the firſt inſtance, they muſt loſe the trade of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, in which their Woollens alone had brought in, for many years paſt, an annual revenue of 326,000l.* That, beſides this loſs, the trade to Portugal, to the amount of 600,000l. per ann. muſt fall, for it was clear that country would never conſent to admit it on terms leſs advantageous to her than the Treaty of 1703,‡ which would be groſſly violated by reducing the duties on French wines, to the ſame

* In *The Flying Poſt*, a newſpaper at the beginning of this century, a writer, who ſigns himſelf—"A Dealer in "Woollens and Linens," ſays, "In King William's war I "ſold much Engliſh woollen and linen, made in imitation "of French; but in the late interval of peace, finding the "ſale ſlacken, I imported French, paying the preſent high "duties for every piece, and ſold it to ſo good profit, that "I totally quitted the Engliſh." No. 3402, July 18, 1713.

‡ KING, in his Dedication of *The Engliſh Merchant* to PAUL METHUEN, aſſerts, that the exports to Portugal, in conſequence of this Treaty, were in his time from 500,000l. to 1,500,000l, per ann.

rate

rate with thoſe of Portugal.* That from theſe conſiderations, and ſome others which were ſtated, the manufactories of woollen and ſilks, juſt growing into ſtrength, would be particularly checked and diminiſhed, by which an immenſe number of hands would be thrown out of employment, and thus the landed intereſt receive a ſevere blow by the ſudden increaſe of the poor.‡ Beſide theſe complaints from the mercantile parts of the kingdom, ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome Pamphlet, either in oppoſition to, or in defence of, the Articles; the principal of theſe were *Mercator* and the *Examiner* in ſupport of the Bill, which were anſwered by the other party in a paper called *The Britiſh Merchant*, or *Commerce preſerved.*†

On the 30th of May, the Bill was read for the firſt time, and the 4th of June was named for the ſecond reading; it was then referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe for amendment and reviſion. Many days were employed in inſpecting the accounts given in, purſuant to

* Art. 2. *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. I. p. 353.

‡ See the different Petitions, &c. in the *Commons Journals*, Vol. XVII.

† This laſt Paper has ſince been collected and publiſhed in 3 vols. 8vo.

order,

order, from the Cuſtom-Houſe books, and in examining merchants and manufacturers; at laſt, on the 18th, the queſtion being put, Whether the Bill, as amended by the Committee, ſhould be engroſſed, "A debate aroſe (ſays "a political writer of that time) perhaps of the "greateſt importance to this kingdom, of any "that has happened in Parliament ſince that of "the *Abdication*." * Among the principal ſpeakers againſt it was General STANHOPE, who, after much ſtrong and pointed reaſoning, entered into a ſort of comment on the prohibitory Act of Charles II. already mentioned. † He was ſeconded by Sir PETER KING, Mr. GOULD, Mr. HAMPDEN, and, above all, by Sir T. HANMER, whoſe conduct in this buſineſs reflects ſuch high honour on his integrity, that it deſerves to be particularly remembered. Before he had heard the ſentiments of the people, moſt intereſted in its fate, he gave his vote in favour of the Bill; but his apprehenſions for the trade, the manufactures, and the landed intereſt of his country being now alarmed, by the numerous and preſſing remonſtrances againſt it,

* *Hiſtory and Defence of the late Parliament*, in the year 1713, p. 243.

† Ibid. p. 43. See alſo GREY's *Debates*, Vol. V. p. 34.

he

he was not aſhamed of correcting his opinion. After a long and very elaborate diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and a review of all the grand arguments, both within doors and without, which had been urged on each ſide, he concluded:—"While I have the honour to ſit in this Houſe, "I will never be blindly led by any miniſtry, "nor be biaſſed by what might weigh with "others—the fear of loſing their elections. "The principles on which I act are, the in-"tereſt of my country, and the conviction of "my judgment, and on theſe two conſidera-"tions alone I am againſt the Bill."* Mr. ARTHUR MOORE, who was ſaid to have been chiefly employed in conducting the Treaty, was the leading ſpeaker for the Bill. After very warm debates, which laſted from three o'clock in the afternoon, till eleven at night, it

* Sir T. HANMER was, in the following year, elected Speaker of the Houſe; and, on his introduction, was complimented by Sir RICHARD STEELE, in a ſpeech, which ended with theſe words.—"It is a demonſtration, that the "Bill of Commerce was a moſt pernicious Bill, and no man "can have ſo great merit to this nation, at this time as he, "by whoſe weight and authority that pernicious Bill was "thrown out. I riſe up to do him honour, and, in ſome "meaſure, to diſtinguiſh myſelf by giving my vote for "that, his inеſtimable ſervice to his country." GREY's *Debates*, Vol. V. p. 40.

was

was thrown out by a majority of 194 to 185. "Thus by nine votes," says the Historian of that Parliament, "did the trade of Great Bri-"tain, and all its manufactures, escape the "most fatal blow that ever was aimed at it." * It may not be unamusing to know what effect this ejectment of a Bill, which had created such a ferment, produced on the commercial and manufacturing part of the kingdom. Information of this sort cannot be had with greater marks of certainty than from the newspapers of those times; for, till the spirit of party was suffered to creep in and debase their authority, newspapers might be considered as faithful chronicles of popular opinion, and national manners. "The last post from Somersetshire," says one of them, "brings advice, that, as soon as the "great cloathing town of Froome had the news "that the Bill was thrown out of the House, "the clothiers, and others, concerned in the "woollen manufactory, made extraordinary re-"joicings, with ringing bells, bonfires, illumi-"nations, and drinking loyal healths to the "Queen's Majesty, and the succession of the "illustrious House of Hanover." † In the

* *History and Defence of the late Parliament*, p. 247.

† *Flying Post*, No. 3392, June 25, 1713.

next number is a letter from Canterbury, which fays—" with joy we hear, that on Thurfday laft, " the 18th, of June, 194 Patriots did by their " refolution fave many thoufands of poor fami- " lies, amongft the woollen, linen, and filk " manufactures, from utter ruin." * Such are the accounts from the weft and eaft, which agree exactly with what was heard on the occafion from the central and northern parts of the kingdom. A letter from Coventry calls the ejectment of the Bill, *The glorious Negative*; and, after much more in the fame ftrain, this poftfcript is added. " Great inquiries are making " how our two members voted on this grand " queftion;" † a hint which fufficiently explains Sir T. HANMER's allufion, and, which, at the enfuing canvafs for the new Parliament, was very generally taken. Among other inftances of this, at the end of an advertifement for the election of members for the county of Suffex,

* *Flying Poft*, No. 3393, June 27.

† No. 3394, June 30. As a fpecimen of popular waggery at that time, we are told, that " a long pole, with " two forks, bearing a fleece of wool and a bottle, was " carried about with thefe inferiptions—*No Englifh wool* " *for French wines—Hemp for all thofe who want to foak* " *their fleeces in claret—No change of ftaple for fpirits.*"

we are directed, in large capitals, to remark, that Hen. Champion, Esq. who opposes the two *worthy Gentlemen, nominated herein, voted for the Bill of Commerce with France.*' * The anxiety previous to the issue of this event, and the joy on its declaration, were not confined to this Island; our factories, both in the Levant and in Portugal, while the Bill was pending, had seconded their petitions, by procuring leave for some of the principal members of their respective companies, to be admitted into the mercantile committees, and afterwards to speak in their behalf at the bar of the House. † Their joy on receiving the news of its ejectment was extravagant, and many days were passed in festivity and congratulations. ‡

These particulars, relative to a part of history to which many imperfect allusions have lately

* No. 3421, Sept. 1.

† See the Examination of TORRIANO, an Italian Merchant. *Journals*, Vol. XVII.

‡ A Letter from Lisbon, which mentions their rejoicings, subjoins a curious fact. "Their zeal here for the ejectment of the Bill is very extraordinary, for the balance of trade with your country is certainly much against Portugal, who has entailed beggary on her posterity by the *Methuen-Treaty*; at the making of which, in one blow, 100 looms were ruined in one Province." *Flying Post*, No. 3415. July 17, 1713.

been made, I have ſtated from the beſt authorities, and in the plaineſt manner I was able. Such reflections as have been ſuggeſted by them, fall more properly into the other part of this work; but even there it is ſubmitted to better judgments to decide how far this event is applicable or not to the buſineſs now before the nation.* I now proceed with the review of England's commerce.

Though

* It may be remarked, that theſe very articles in the Utrecht Treaty, which raiſed ſuch a ferment in the nation, and cauſed ſo much joy when thrown out of Parliament, were looked upon, by the Negotiators, in the light of a great conceſſion of France, in conſideration of the Engliſh Miniſter having given up to her the right of Fiſhery at Newfoundland: But perhaps hiſtory cannot ſhew ſtronger inſtances of chicanery and fineſſe, than were exhibited by France through the whole of this memorable negotiation; or, on the other hand, more ſtriking proofs of the ill effects of bringing party prejudices into public buſineſs. This, among many others in the ſame collection, is ſhewn by the following letter from Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. Prior, "Let France depart—the ſhameful expedient by which ſhe "thought to bubble us, and all is well; otherwiſe, by G-d, "both they and we are undone. So my Comps. to M. De. "Torcy, and let him know, that if they do not agree with "the Queen, I may be a refugee. Do pray make the "French aſhamed of their ſneaking chicane. By heaven! "they treat like pedlars, or, which is worſe, like Attornies."

See

Though the reign of George I. be not remarkable for the proſperity either of our foreign or domeſtic trade, yet ſome ſucceſsful exertions were then made, the good effects of which became viſible in the ſucceeding reign. *The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle* in 1668, had eſtabliſhed a good underſtanding between England and Spain, which, in its conſequences, proved highly ſerviceable to our commerce. Upon this foundation was raiſed a very advantageous Treaty, in the year 1715, which, notwithſtanding the war that broke out three years after, laid open ſome channels of foreign trade which have never ſince been entirely cloſed.* The great relief of duties on the exportation of Britiſh manufactures,‡ the improvements in the iron, braſs, copper, and ſilk works, and the liberal bounties for the encouragement of our Fiſheries, are events which more than compenſate for thoſe mad and fatal deluſions, which deform this æra of our

See a *Report of the Committee of Secrecy to the Houſe of Commons*, June 9th, 1715, p. 38, 39, and in the Appendix to the Report, No. XXII. XXIII. eſpecially Lord BOLINGBROKE's *Letter to* DE TORCY.

* Treaties of Peace, Vol. I. p. 195.—Vol. II. p. 173.

‡ 8 Geo. I. c. iv.

commer-

commercial history.* Too much caution cannot be used in reading the political writings in the reign which followed, when "not to be corrupted" was the shame." In this reign the meaneſt artifices of ſtatecraft and faction were oppoſed to each other; and, in queſtions of the higheſt moment, were ſuffered to uſurp the place of honeſt arguments, and rational deductions. We cannot have a more convincing proof of this, than by comparing a very popular work at that day, *On the Cauſes of the Decline of foreign Trade*, written by Sir MATTHEW DECKER, with the reſult of an accurate computation in ANDERSON's *Hiſtory of Commerce*, diſpaſſionately drawn from the moſt authentic ſource. By DECKER we are told, that "under "the preſſure of public debts and taxes, with "languiſhing manufactories, and land every "day ſinking in its value, it is not poſſible for "this country long to hold the competition with "her neighbours."‡ By ANDERSON it appears, that, juſt before the war of 1739, there was every ſymptom of public proſperity—Lands at a high

* The annual amount of our exports at the peace of Utrecht was 6,868,480l. At the death of George I. in 1727, it was 7,891,739l.

‡ Quarto Edit. p. 37, 46, 52.

price,

price, and improving—Much industry and employment—A regular interest upon money at three *per cent.*——Public credit high, and the tonnage on the commercial shipping, which, in the beginning of the century, was reckoned at 273,693 tons, and had increased at the accession of Geo. I. to 444,843 tons, but at the close of his reign, had sunk to 432,832 tons, stood in the year 1738, at 476,941 tons.* In the year 1728 and 1729, Great Britain had formed Treaties which proved very beneficial to several branches of her commerce, by procuring a vent for those capitals which had fortunately escaped the general wreck of project in the preceding reign, and which otherwise might have overcharged some of the old channels of foreign trade.‡ The war which broke out in 1739, and continued for upwards of nine years, at the same time that it

* *Hist. of Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 321, 322. See also, in the strain of Complaint, *Considerations on the present State of Affairs*, by Lord LYTTLETON, published in 1738.

‡ *Collection of Treaties*, V. II. p. 30, and the following. During the three first years of the reign of Geo. II. the amount of exports was in round numbers, 789,739l. on the annual average; whereas from 1736 to 1739, the *period of impending ruin*, it rose to 9,993,232l. a difference of more than two millions in favour of this *unfortunate* æra.

gave a check to commerce, afforded ample proof, in the national exertions which it excited, how much our naval and commercial ſtrength, as well as internal reſources, had been miſrepreſented; and, in the ſhort interval of peace which ſucceeded, trade not only recovered its former level, but roſe to a point of ſtill higher elevation.* Theſe are now undiſputed teſtimonies of increaſing opulence; yet there were then, as in preceding times, able writers, who in bold and pointed terms, pronounced the nation to be on the verge of bankruptcy.‡ Among the many alarms,

* During the war of 1739, the exports had ſunk to 8,870,499l. At the breaking out of the war of 1755, after ſcarcely a ſeven year's peace, they had riſen to 12,599,112l. Mr. Chalmers obſerves, that "on looking over a table of "trade, it appears, that the year of profound peace which "immediately ſucceeds a war, always furniſhes a great "exportation, becauſe every merchant makes haſte to be "rich." He inſtances the years 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, 1784, as epochs of great relative commerce. *Eſtimate*, &c. p. 214, and his *Chronological Table of Commerce*, oppoſite p. 207.

‡ Lord Bolingbroke's *Conſiderations on the State of the Nation*. But this "all-accompliſhed ſtateſman" had been then too long withdrawn from public life, to form accurate notions on ſuch matters, and his peculiar ſituation naturally ſuggeſted ſplenetic ones. See alſo DODDINGTON'S *Diary*, March 1749, 50, and in the following years.

alarms, which it was the fashion of the times to excite on commercial topics, may be reckoned the revival of manufactures and trade in Spain, which a few years before had given rise to despondency and political invective. There was, indeed, some ground for the original report.

When the romantic DUKE DE RIPPERDA succeeded the cautious ALBERONI as minister in Spain, he found, it is said, among that statesman's papers, loose memorandums of schemes for the increase of population, and the promotion of national industry. Struck with the general idea, he employed himself, with the assistance of some principal merchants, in digesting a regular plan for that purpose. A Committee was formed to consider on the best means to recover the trade and manufactures of the country. Workmen and artificers were invited from all parts of Europe. Many clothiers and ship-carpenters were allured over from England; and France lost some of her best artists from Lyons. At Segovia and Gaudalaxara, great woollen manufactories were established, and the silk-looms of Valencia,

It is worth remarking, that in the year 1754, by the spirit and liberality of Lord FOLKSTONE, Lord ROMNEY and Dr. STEPH. HALES, *the London Society, for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in Great-Britain*, was first established.

Murcia,

Murcia, and Catalonia, already threatened to rival thoſe in the neighbouring provinces of France. In ſhort, were we to judge from a report delivered in by a Spaniſh Writer at that time, the whole trade of Europe bad fair, in the courſe of the preſent century, to fall into the hands of his countrymen.* One fact however is certain, that before the manufactory at Segovia had been three years eſtabliſhed, the Duke clothed the Spaniſh troops from its looms.‡ But, in order to bring theſe ſchemes to maturity, the concurrence of the Sovereign was neceſſary; for all commercial concerns are, in Spain, under the direction of the court; and the principal part of the royal revenue ariſes from oppreſſive duties, and exorbitant demands, both on the raw materials and the manufactures of the country. Till theſe were removed, nothing effectual could be done. This therefore proved an inſurmountable obſtacle; for, as might be expected, the Court abſolutely refuſed to part with any

* Don Jeronimo de Uztariz, cited by Postlethwayte in his *Commercial Intereſt of Great Britain*, who always diſtinguiſhes him by the name of the Patriot-Spaniard, V. II. p. 464.

‡ *Memoirs of the* Duke de Ripperda, p. 100, and the following pages.

of

of its ancient claims; on the contrary, it began, in the true ſpirit of Spaniſh policy, to exact heavy ſubſidies from the newly-elected manufactories. The moſt ſanguine promoters of the commercial reform were diſcouraged, and, in their diſguſt, having unguardedly indulged themſelves in a liberty of ſpeech little ſuited to an arbitrary government, they drew down the diſpleaſure of the court, both on themſelves and their projects. This, among other cauſes of diſcontent, ended in RIPPERDA's diſgrace and baniſhment, and totally extinguiſhed all hopes, that Spain would again become a wealthy and induſtrious country.*

The war which broke out in the year 1755, neceſſarily threw obſtructions in the way of our foreign commerce, and for a time damped the ardour of enterprize; yet, even during this war, after the firſt difficulties were ſurmounted, trade ſeems to have recovered its former tone; for in the year 1760 the value of exported cargoes was conſiderably higher than it had been in the laſt year of the peace. The Treaty which terminated the war in 1763,

* *Memoirs*, &c. p. 115. His manner of life, and his reflections on the reverſes of his fortune, in his baniſhment at Segovia, are worth conſulting.

though

though perhaps it did not hold forth ſuch advantages as from our ſituation we might reaſonably have expected, yet gave ſufficient freedom and ſcope to commercial enterprize. * CHALMERS here gives a very pleaſing picture of our opulence, and of the magnificent liberality of our merchants, who, as he very juſtly obſerves, "literally ſaved Europe from bankruptcy by "the ſuperiority of their wealth, and by "the diſintereſtedneſs of their ſpirit." † For when all mercantile credit and confidence ſeemed loſt by the great failures at Hamburgh, Berlin, and Holland, the Britiſh merchants not only gave as extenſive credit as ever to the unfortunate Houſes, but even ſuſpended the payment of their own acceptances, in order to remit immenſe ſums to relieve the diſtreſs of thoſe commercial cities, and the Bank of England, when every bill of exchange was doubtful, ſtill continued to diſcount them. ‡ When

* In the laſt year of the Peace, as we have already ſeen, our exports were at 12,599,112l. In 1760 they amounted to 14,693,270l. by one account, and by another to 14,694,970l. In 1763, at the Peace of Paris they roſe to 14,925,950.

† *Eſtimate*, &c. p. 117.

‡ CHALMERS quotes a letter from the Bankers of Hamburgh to the Bankers of Amſterdam, in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1763, p. 422. *Eſtimate*, &c. p. 117.

this

this voluntary preſſure, ſo honourable for a nation to have ſuſtained, was removed, our foreign and domeſtic commerce expanded beyond the example of any former age or country. From the Peace of Paris to the commencement of the late war, nothing was wanted to animate and aſſiſt the genius of an active people. Trade, manufactures, agriculture, and every ſubordinate department of induſtry, were promoted by the wiſe and patriotic regulations of the Legiſlature. Roads and canals were forced over places before deemed impaſſable. Waſtes were encloſed, marſhes drained, cities adorned, and various other means adopted to facilitate and extend domeſtic traffic. On the other hand, by a prudent diſtribution of impoſts and bounties, many branches of manufactures were relieved, and carried to a point of taſte and refinement, which, notwithſtanding their ſuperior price, has ſecured to them ſure and extenſive markets. In ſhort, were a period demanded in which the balance of England's trade was moſt uniformly in its favour, this undoubtedly muſt be named from 1764 to 1774; for in theſe ten years, the two trades of Spain and Portugal only, netted to her a balance of 8,370,131l. Even during the late war, commerce

merce did not ſuffer ſo alarming a depreſſion as might have been expected from ſuch an inveterate combination againſt us. It appears (ſays CHALMERS) that, through the whole courſe of hoſtilities, our traffic never loſt its elaſtic principle. It had an evident tendency to riſe in 1779, till the Spaniſh war impoſed an additional burthen; there was a ſimilar tendency in 1780, when the Dutch war added in 1781 no inconſiderable weight; this year, therefore, marks the loweſt degree of its depreſſion; but in the following its vigour ſprang up, and revived, and at the cloſe of the war exhibited happy ſymptoms of that energy which is now every day more viſibly and extenſively exerted. * The foregoing review of our commercial ſtate at different periods has no great claim to originality. Its chief merit in many parts is, that of

* *Eſtimate*, &c. p. 143. In the four years which immediately precede the Colonial war, our exports were at the average of 15,000,000l. and the net balance in favour of Britiſh commerce was 3,884,844l. In 1781, our exports had ſunk to 10,569,187l. In 1784 they were at 14,171,375l. It is a fact worth remarking, that in the war before laſt our commerce was ſo far from being embarraſſed, that merchants found it more for their intereſt to employ their capitals in foreign trade than in the Government loans, to which the Dutch were the principal ſubſcribers, but in the late war the caſe was very different.

being

being a ſketch after an admired work of an able maſter. *

To correct the pernicious influence of principles which Diſcontent ſuggeſts, and Faction diſſeminates, and to awaken a great, but too eaſily deluded people to a true ſenſe of their political conſequence (eſpecially in a nation which has ever been remarked for an unaccountable propenſity to look upon the gloomy ſide of events), is ſurely a laudable and patriotic undertaking. Such is the object propoſed by the author, to whom I have ſo often referred in this latter part of my obſervations. Beſide the ſatisfaction which the ſcholar and politician muſt receive from works thus uniting authenticity of facts with elegance of language, "The "Eſtimate of the comparative Strength of Great

* *An Eſtimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the preſent and four preceding Reigns.* Edit. 1786. By GEORGE CHALMERS. From the chronological Table of Commerce inſerted in this work, I have, for the moſt part, copied the groſs amount of our exports at different periods. As it is vouched by him to be a faithful tranſcript from the *Ledger* of the INSPECTOR GENERAL, to which I had no opportunities of referring, I apprehend it needs no corroborative proof of its fidelity. *Eſtimate*, p. 218. N. B. I have omitted the exports of Scotland throughout. They appear, upon an average of years, to add about one million to the revenue.

Britain,

" Britain, &c." has this to recommend it at the preſent hour, that the delineation it contains of our commercial hiſtory is as exhilarating as it is faithful. To the name of CHALMERS we ought with gratitude to add thoſe of Lord SHEFFIELD and ARTHUR YOUNG, whoſe talents are ſucceſsfully exerted in ſimilar works of genuine patriotiſm. * After giving an accurate ſtatement of our commercial ſituation, YOUNG breaks out in the following manner — " An empire has been rent aſunder; " a whole continent, ſo peopled as to claſs at " preſent amongſt the potentates of the world, " has been detached from Great Britain; and " that event, which was purchaſed by the " French, Spaniards, and Dutch, at an expence " of probably more than a hundred and forty " million ſterling, as the ſureſt means of pul- " ling down this country, has been ſo far from " having any ſuch effect, that we are proved, " on the moſt authentic records, to be more " flouriſhing, and conſequently more formi- " dable, than at any former period ſince the " foundation of the monarchy." † To what we muſt aſcribe this vital ſtrength, which nei-

* See Lord SHEFFIELD's *Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States*, 6th Edit. 1784, with an Appendix.

† *Annals of Agriculture*, No. 29, p. 423.

ther

ther war or faction, or the ſpirit of luxury, has been able to ſubdue, will be obvious on a little reflection. That the ſupport was never *tranſatlantic*, as ſome have idly imagined, our preſent commercial ſituation ſufficiently demonſtrates. May we not rather, with an acute Politician of the preſent day, attribute this phænomenon of an almoſt uniform ſuperiority of our commerce to ſomething like the following principles? The ſuppreſſion of various monopolies and companies of trade at home, and the undermining of their excluſive privileges, or, what is the ſame thing, the eluding of their bad effects by means of legal deciſions in our courts of law: The nurſing up of new trades, and new branches of commerce, by means of bounties and national premiums: The giving of drawbacks on the exportation of ſuch goods as were to have paid a duty if conſumed at home: The repeal of taxes on raw materials, and on exported manufactures of our country: The improvement of engines, and new diſcoveries for the abridgment of labour: The rapid communication by means of roads, canals and poſts: The happy diſcoveries in agriculture, and the mechanic arts, the fruits of that patriotic liberality which has been of late ſo eminently

* TUCKER's *Four Tracts*, p. 213.

exerted among us in public inſtitutions, and ſocieties for the encouragement of induſtry and uſeful ſkill; and the natural reſult of all this national ſpirit, the employment of larger capitals in huſbandry and manufactures, and in the importation and exportation of goods; all theſe circumſtances co-operating, would render any country rich and flouriſhing, whether it had colonies or not.

No wonder then that the Sceptre of commerce continues firm in the hands of a nation where Perſonal Rights are ſacred, and where every ſpecies of Property finds protection and ſecurity in the freedom of Civil Government and the equal adminiſtration of Law.

THE

# THE TARIFF.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the kind communication of ſome intelligent manufacturers has put me in poſſeſſion of materials ſufficiently valuable and authentic, I have not, according to my original deſign, entered into ſuch details as this information would enable me to do; being unwilling to ſwell a pamphlet into a volume, with matters known to be *officially* in other hands, much better qualified to lay them before the public. The following Remarks however may not be leſs uſeful, or amuſing, though they convey little information that is new to a Stateſman or a Politician.

THE

# TARIFF.

1. THE two High Contracting Parties have thought proper to ſettle the duties on certain goods and merchandizes, in order to fix invariably the footing on which the trade therein ſhall be eſtabliſhed between the two Nations. In conſequence of which they have agreed upon the following TARIFF, viz.

The *Wines* of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, ſhall, in no caſe, pay any higher duties than thoſe which the wines of Portugal now pay.

The Wines of France, imported directly from France into Ireland, ſhall pay no higher duties than thoſe which they now pay.

2. The Vinegars of France, inſtead of ſixty-ſeven pounds five ſhillings and three-pence, and twelve twentieths of a pound ſterling per ton, which they now pay, ſhall not, for the future, pay, in Great Britain any higher duties than thirty-two pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and ten-pence, and ſixteen twentieths of a penny ſterling, per ton. *

3. The Brandies of France, inſtead of nine ſhillings and ſixpence and twelve twentieths of a penny ſterling, ſhall for the future pay, in Great Britain, only ſeven ſhillings ſterling per gallon, making four quarts, Engliſh meaſure.

4. Oil of Olives, coming directly from

* The preſent duties on *Vinegars* are for every ton imported 13l. if by ſtrangers, 14l. 10s. by 18 Geo. II. c. ix. By 3 Geo. III. c. xii. an additional duty of 16l. are laid on all French Vinegars, to which 8l. 8s. a ton more are laid by 18 Geo. III. c. xxvii. and another 8l. in addition to this by 20 Geo. III. c. xxx. On home Vinegar, there is for every barrel containing 34 gallons, a duty of 8s. 9d. by 10 and 11 W. III. c. xxi. and by 19 Geo. III. c. xxv. an additional duty of 3 five per cents, which is further regulated by 21 Geo. III. c. xvii. and 22 Geo. III. c. lxvi.—Every maker of Vinegar for ſale is required by 24 Geo. III. c. xli. to take out an annual licence of 10l.

France,

France, ſhall for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the ſame from the moſt favoured nations. *

5. Beer ſhall pay reciprocally a duty of thirty per cent. *ad valorem*. †

6. The

* *The Oil of Olives* is that which is moſt generally uſed in *Medicine*, *Food*, and *Manufacture*. It appears to have been brought to great perfection by the ancients. Moſt of their georgical writers have dwelt upon the method of cultivating this fruit, and of preparing it for œconomical uſes. See COLUMELLA, p. 73, and VARRO, p. 105, in *Scriptores de Re Ruſticâ*, edit. 1734. The *Olive* delights in a dry ſoil, and thrives in the moſt barren ſpots, as on the mountains of Piſa, and the coaſt of Genoa, where the eye can diſcover nothing but vaſt rocks of ſtone; but it grows beſt on gentle hills, defended from North winds and expoſed to the ſea air; though the people of Lucca and Tuſcany, by their extreme induſtry, make it ſucceed even in low grounds. Dr. SYMONDS, *on the Soil of Italy*, in YOUNG's *Annals of Agriculture*, V. II. p. 211. Much of the oil uſed in our woollen manufactories is from Gallipoli imported hither immediately from Naples. We take great quantities alſo from the South of France and from Candia. All *Olive Oils* imported in foreign ſhips, though by Britiſh ſubjects, are liable to *Aliens* duty, 12 Car. II. c. xviii. § 9. BALDWIN on the *Britiſh Cuſtoms*, p. 45.

† When goods are to pay *ad valorem*, that value muſt be aſcertained by the *two Books of Rates* ſet forth by Parliamentary Authority, 12 Car. II. c. iv. and 11 Geo. I. c. vii.

6. The duties on *Hardware, Cutlery, Cabinet Ware,* and *Turnery,* and alſo all works both heavy and light, of Iron, Steel, Copper, and Braſs, ſhall be claſſed; and the higheſt duty ſhall not exceed ten per cent. *ad valorem.*

7. All

or if not rated, by the oath of the importer, or by the price at a public ſale.

It is known that the French make *Beer,* not only with barley, but with wheat, oats, and rye; a ſort made with oats and birch water is ſtrongly recommended in Nephritic caſes. *Philoſ. Tranſ.* No. XCVII. p. 6135. The chief trade of France in this article is domeſtic, namely with Paris, Picardy, and French Flanders. Their duties are regulated by the Tariff of 1664, and are upon exportation, at the rate of 26 ſols the ton, and upon importation 12 ſols the barrel, with an additional rate for England.

By 1 Geo. III. c. vii. ſtrong beer or ale may be exported with an allowance of 8s. the barrel to the brewer by way of drawback. *Hops* are under a variety of reſtrictions in our laws. 9 Ann. c. xii. among other things annexes a penalty of 50l. to the removal of hops before they have been bagged and weighed, and a like penalty on not entering the places of curing and keeping them, with 20l. for concealing hops, as alſo on any brewer who ſhall ſubſtitute any other bitter ingredient. By 10 Geo. III. c. xliv. a penalty of 100l. is inflicted for uſing falſe ſcales and weights. By 14 Geo. III. c. 68. the Officer ſhall forfeit 5l. if he neglect to weigh the bags or pockets, and to mark on them the time, weight or tare, the planter's name and place of abode, and the date of the year in

which

7. All ſorts of Cottons, * manufactured in the dominions of the two Sovereigns in Europe, and alſo Woollens, whether *knit* or *wove*, including *Hoſiery*, ſhall pay, in both countries, an *import duty* of twelve per cent. *ad valorem*; all manufactures of Cotton or Wool, mixed with Silk, excepted, which ſhall remain prohibited on both ſides.

8. Cambrics and Lawns † ſhall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five ſhillings or

which ſuch hops were grown. The altering, forging, or obliterating of ſuch mark incurs a penalty of 10l. By a late act, five per cent. is added to the other duties on hops.

* We have an account of the induſtry of the town of Mancheſter as early as the year 1641. "The town of Mancheſter buys linen yarn of the Iriſh in great quantities, and weaving it, returns the ſame again in linen; neither doth her induſtry reſt here, for ſhe buys cotton-wool in London, that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and works it into fuſtians, vermillions, dimmities, &c." Lewis Roberts, *Treaſure of Traffic*. There is a great cotton manufactory at Rouen in Normandy. It was with concern, that in the year 1784, I heard of ſeveral Engliſhmen employed there, two of whom had worked for 13 years at Mancheſter. Cotton works have, within theſe few years, been eſtabliſhed, with ſucceſs, both in Ireland and Scotland.

† By 32 Geo. II. no *Cambrics* or *French Lawns* ſhall be

or ſix livres Tournois, per demi piece of ſeven yards and three quarters, Engliſh meaſure; and linens made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two Sovereigns in Europe, ſhall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or France, than linens manufactured in Holland or Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay.

And Linens made of flax or hemp manufac-

be imported, unleſs they be packed in bales, caſes, or boxes, covered with ſackcloth or canvaſs, containing each 100 whole pieces. Theſe ſhall be imported only for exportation, to be lodged in the King's warehouſes, and not to be delivered out but under the like ſecurity and reſtrictions as prohibited Eaſt-India goods: and no cuſtoms or duties whatever ſhall be paid or ſecured thereon, other than half the old ſubſidy, which is to remain by law after the goods are exported. Other reſtrictions on the importation, the wearing and the ſelling of foreign *Cambrics* and *Lawns* are to be found in 18 Geo. II. c. xxxvi.—21 Geo. II. c. xxvii. —4 Geo. III. c. xxxvii.—and 7 Geo. III. c. xliii. We are at preſent ſupplied from the manufactories of Ireland and Scotland. It may be queſtioned, whether thoſe countries will long find it their intereſt to promote ſuch fabrics as *Cambric*, *Lawn*, or *Gauze*, to the check of their linen works, for it ſeems like preferring a precarious article of manufacture to one which is ſecure. It is ſaid, that there are in Glaſgow alone more than 1000 *Muſlin* looms. St. Quentin and Cambray are as principal manufactories for all theſe articles as any in France.

tured

tured in Ireland or France, ſhall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9. *Sadlery* ſhall reciprocally pay an impoſt duty of fifteen per cent. ad valorem.

10. Gauzes of all ſorts ſhall reciprocally pay ten per cent. ad valorem.

11. Millinery made up of Muſlin, Lawn, Cambric, or Gauze of every kind, or of any other article admitted under the preſent *Tariff*, ſhall pay reciprocally a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem; and if any articles ſhall be uſed therein, which are not ſpecified in the Tariff, they ſhall pay no higher duties than thoſe paid for the ſame articles by the moſt favoured Nations.

12. *Porcelain*, *Earthen-ware* and *Pottery*, ſhall pay reciprocally twelve per cent. ad valorem.

13. *Plate-glaſs*, and Glaſs-ware in general, ſhall be admitted on each ſide, paying a duty of twelve per cent. ad valorem.*

CUSTOMS.

* Moſt of the duties on Glaſs granted by 19 Geo. II. c. xii. were repealed by an act paſſed in 1777, and the following duties impoſed; for all plate enamel, ſtained and paſte glaſs, and on all window glaſs, and every other kind of white glaſs, the ſum of one ſhilling and four pence the pound

# CUSTOMS.

A ſuccinct and general account of the CUSTOMS neceſſarily claims a place in a work of this nature.

Though the firſt *formal* Eſtabliſhment of CUSTOMS and duties on the imports and exports of this kingdom occur in the reign of EDWARD I. yet by that very act we are informed of their prior exiſtence. At the opening of the fourteenth century, this King, upon conſideration of the many immunities and privileges granted by him to foreign merchants, reſiding in and

pound weight; and for all green glaſs in bottles, four ſhillings for every dozen of quarts; and for materials uſed in the manufacture of plate and phial glaſs, eighteen ſhillings and eight pence the cwt. for making of broad window glaſs, ſeven ſhillings cwt. for making of crown glaſs, fourteen ſhillings cwt. and for common bottles, &c. three ſhillings and ſix-pence cwt.

Few manufactures require a larger capital or greater profits to ſupport it, than this; for a ſingle furneſs coſts £3500, and is five or ſix years in building; beſide ſuch accidents as in many other branches are immaterial, are in this of the higheſt conſequence, for merely the burſting of a pot of glaſs in the fire, will often incur a loſs of £250.

France has nine principal Glaſs Works, five of which are in the foreſt of Lyons, the other four in the diſtrict of Eu, at Beaumont, near Rouen, and in Rue St. Antoine, at Paris. Our principal Plate Glaſs manufacture is near Preſcot in Lancaſhire.

trading with this iſland, *by the advice and conſent of his Parliament*, publiſhed a declaration of theſe privileges, annexing as the price of his protection certain *Cuſtoms* and *Duties* to be paid by them on merchandizes either imported or exported.*

GILBERT conceives theſe privileges to have conſiſted chiefly in having the full uſe of the King's warehouſes, weights, meaſures, &c.‡ This royal declaration is called CHARTA MERCATORIA,§ and may be conſidered as containing the ſimple elements of that very intricate ſyſtem of impoſts, which has been gradually accumulating ever ſince, to the great hindrance and confuſion of commerce.

It is unneceſſary here to enumerate the ſeveral ſpecies which aroſe between that æra and the great Statute of 12 Carol. II. c. iv. which eſtabliſhed the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, or as it is more technically called, the Old Subſidy, which is the foundation of our preſent *Cuſtoms*; neither is it the preſent purpoſe to dwell

* RYMER's *Fœdera*, Tom. III. fol. 269. See the anſwer given by Edward II. to Philip the Fair, upon his requeſting to have French Merchants releaſed from a certain duty.

‡ Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 214.

§ *Fœdera*, Tom. IV. fol. 361.

on

on the diſpute whether or not the Cuſtoms be part of the revenue of the Crown by *Common Law:* a point which, above all others, contributed to thoſe violent ſtruggles between prerogative and privilege at the beginning of the laſt century.*

I ſhall only obſerve that it appears from *Magna Charta* that certain cuſtoms, as on Wool, Woolfells, and Leather, were paid to the Crown, previouſly to any act of parliament. Still the right has conſtantly been diſputed, and the rolls of parliament ſwarm with inſtances of proteſtations againſt it. BLACKSTONE thinks that SIR EDWARD COKE has plainly ſhewn that the King's firſt claim to Cuſtoms was by *Grant of Parliament*, 3 Edward I.† which probably alludes to that very event already mentioned, as the firſt *formal* eſtabliſhment of our Cuſtoms; and HALE ſays, even of *Priſage* (a duty peculiarly belonging to the Crown) "That is a "cuſtom ſettled in the Crown by *Common Law*,

* See a ſketch of theſe ſtruggles prefixed to the celebrated *Caſe of Impoſitions* in *State Trials*, Vol. XI. It may here be remarked, that the act which granted the duties of tonnage and poundage after the Reſtoration, has theſe cautious words: "No rates can be impoſed on merchandizes "imported or exported by ſubjects or aliens, but, by *Conſent* "*of Parliament*." 12 Carol. II. c. iv. ſec. 6.

† Commentaries, B. I. c. viii.

"yet

" yet not ſo inſeparable from the Crown, nor ſo " perſonal to the King, but it may be diſcharged " or transferred."†

The following are the principal branches of our preſent Cuſtoms.

1. The OLD SUBSIDY, which conſiſts of a tonnage duty on Wines imported, and a poundage duty on other goods imported.

2. PETTY CUSTOMS or ALIENS DUTY, payable by Merchant-Strangers on all goods imported, which are liable to the ſubſidy of poundage.

3. ADDITIONAL DUTY on tonnage and poundage added to the former.

4. ONE PER CENT. INWARDS, payable upon all *imports to Great Britain, from any place of the Mediterranean Sea,* beyond the port of Malaga, in any veſſel that hath not two decks, ſixteen guns, and the proportion of two men to each gun.

5. COMPOSITION ON PETTY SEIZURES. The moiety paid to the Crown by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms for ſeizures under the

† See a Treatiſe lately publiſhed in HARGRAVE'S *Law Tracts*, from a MS. of Lord Chief Juſtice HALE, in three parts, the laſt of which treats with great legal erudition on " The Cuſtoms of Goods imported and exported."

value

value of forty ſhillings, for which they are allowed to compound.

Theſe five only, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the revenue laws, are properly called THE CUSTOMS. There are however various others by the names of Impoſts on Wines, Vinegar, Tobacco, Coinage, Duties, Exciſe, &c. whence the Crown revenue ariſes; though moſt of the diſtinctions are now dropped, except by the officers immediately concerned, their produce being all blended together under the one denomination of THE CUSTOMS.* We may obſerve that originally theſe duties were levied both on importation and exportation, but for many years, with few exceptions, the new Cuſtoms have been raiſed on importations only.

The ſtatute of 12 Carol. II. c. iv. eſtabliſhes two very plain ſyſtems. By the one a ſpecific ſum is charged on a certain quantity, a ton of wine, for example; by the other, rates or imaginary values are annexed to all other goods of common importation, and a proportional duty is levied on each article. Had the ſimplicity of this plan been ſtrictly followed in all ſubſequent impoſts, that confuſion and inequa-

* CUNNINGHAM's *Hiſtory of Taxes*, p. 88, and the following. BLACKSTONE's *Comment*. B. I. c. viii.

lity

lity which prevails in our Cuſtoms would have been avoided; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that even in leſs than twelve years from the publication of this act, the legiſlature began to deviate from its principles, and, regardleſs of the original rates therein annexed, charged ſeveral articles according to their meaſure and weight.* Since that time almoſt every ſtatute which has added a freſh duty, has unavoidably increaſed the perplexity. "It were to be wiſhed (ſays the "laſt compiler of our cuſtoms) that the whole "of our impoſts had been framed upon a more "uniform plan, and that both the convenience "and beauty of ſyſtem had been preſerved. But "the defect cannot now be eaſily removed."‡ The great extent of the *Books of Rates*,§ and the want of perſpicuity in the arrangement, calls aloud

* 22 Carol. II. c. iv. 25 Carol. II. c. vii.

‡ BALDWIN in the preface to his *Survey of Britiſh Cuſtoms*, &c. p. 4.

§ The Cuſtoms are chiefly contained in two books of Rates, ſet forth by Parliamentary authority; one by 12 Carol. II. c. iv. the other by 11 Geo. I. c. vii. It was to the liberality, no leſs than to the perſeverance of the Houſe of Peers, that the public were at laſt indebted in 1696, for the eſtabliſhment of the *Inſpector General* of the imports and exports, and for the *Cuſtom-houſe Ledger*, which contains the particulars and value of both, and which forms there-

aloud for an attempt at reformation. The perſon who ſhall engage in ſuch a taſk, I would wiſh to remind of what the great Financier of France has obſerved on the ſame perplexed ſtate in which he found the fiſcal legiſlation of his country. "This ſtrange arrangement of our "cuſtoms," ſays he, "has abſolutely ſupported "itſelf by its own defects; the multiplicity of "particular caſes, the accumulation of rules, the "confuſion of principles; in ſhort, all that "antique contexture woven into ſo many knots, "has conſtantly preſented the idea of an im-"menſe enterpriſe, whenever attempts have "been made to proceed to a reform, by ſtudying "*details*: But when I took a contrary method, "by making myſelf maſter of the *whole collec-*"*tively by reflection*, and by taking pains to "diſcern the principle diviſions, and the *ele-*"*ments*, as well as the *reſults* of each, the whole "affair became ſimplified."* As great a ſource of confuſion and inequality as any, is, the great

fore the moſt uſeful record, with regard to trade, that any country poſſeſſes. CHALMERS's *Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength*, &c. pref. p. 7.

* NECKER's *Adminiſtration of the Finances*, V. II. p. 167, of MORTIMER's Tranſlation. This miniſter's plan is a beautiful example of Analyſis, for the imitation of a ſtateſman in any department.

difference

difference which often ſubſiſts between the *real* and the *nominal* value of duties on foreign articles. When the rates were affixed in the reign of Charles II. they were then equal to the *real* values, but ſince that time, the decline of the value of money, with other cauſes, has contributed to raiſe the *prices* above the *rates*, inſomuch that often when the duties are 25 or 26 per cent. on the *rates*, this will not be more than 7 or 8 per cent. on the *real value*. In the article of linens this is obviouſly the caſe, and it cauſed no ſmall contradictions in the reports and opinions on that manufacture, when it was taken into conſideration by parliament ſome few years ago.

The bulk as well as the form of our Cuſtoms has been alſo a ſubject of complaint to ſome writers on commercial politics. The duties on all exports of Britiſh Manufacture, except on ſome few articles which were regarded as *materials*, were removed in the year 1722, but no relief was given to imports; on the contrary, they have, in moſt inſtances, been gradually burthened with new duties. Theſe high and numerous impoſts, it has been thought, are attended with many evils in ſuch a country as England. Among the principal perhaps may be reckoned a check

on the increaſe of capitals, and the poſſible improvements of manufactories; an encouragement to ſmuggling, and above all, by enhancing the price of articles neceſſary in the conſtruction and fitting out of ſhips, as hemp, flax, iron, &c. the conſequent diſcouragement to navigation and commerce. I have choſen theſe inſtances, becauſe it is by a ſuperiority in them that our mercantile ſyſtem is characterized; and were ſuch ſalutary reliefs permitted to co-operate with this national ſpirit, it is not eaſy to conceive what might in time be the extent and perfection of our foreign trade and domeſtic induſtry. Mr. Locke was ever of opinion that high duties encouraged rather than depreſſed the conſumption of foreign commodities. "The emulation," ſays he, "ever is, who ſhall have the fineſt, "that is, the deareſt things, not the moſt con-"venient or uſeful. How many things do we "value and buy becauſe they come at dear rates "from Japan and China, which, if they were "our own manufacture or produce, would be "contemned or neglected? Have not ſeveral of "our commodities offered to ſale been deſpiſed, "and the very ſame eagerly bought for "French at a double price? You muſt not "think therefore that the raiſing their price will

"leſſen

"leſſen the vend of faſhionable foreign com-
"modities among us, but rather increaſe it:"* and DE WITT in his Memoirs purſues preciſely the ſame train of argument;‡ which ſeems confirmed by an obſervation of GEE, on the faſhion of preferring French Wines, after the duties were laid on at the latter end of the laſt century: for, ſays he "though they were raiſed "to £80 per ton, or more, ſome particular im-"porters choſe rather to keep up thoſe high "prices than to have them cheaper; and being "aſked why they thus choſe to keep up the "prices, they anſwered, that gentlemen would "not think it good unleſs it coſt 5 or 6 ſhillings "a flaſk."† It is true indeed, that impoſts may be carried ſo far as to become prohibitions, and in that caſe alſo they might be as prejudicial as in the other; for as ſays SWIFT humorouſly, "in the "Arithmetic of the Cuſtoms, *two* and *two* do "not always make *four*, but often only ONE."

It is not on foreign Articles alone that many Writers on finance have argued for the relief

* LOCKE's *Conſiderations on Trade*, &c. p. 93, and again p. 116.

‡ Edit. Ratiſbon, p. 77. Dr. SMITH computes that taking together all the reſtraints upon French goods at the commencement of the late war, they muſt have amounted to 75 per cent.

† *Trade conſidered*, &c. p. 141.

of Cuſtoms. The exportation of domeſtic commodities, notwithſtanding much beneficial reform, has been oppreſſed by them. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that in moſt caſes *Drawbacks* have been applied to counteract the effects of theſe duties; but, beſide the injudicious mode often of applying them, the policy of the meaſure itſelf (except in the caſe of foreign goods imported for re-exportation) may be queſtioned. The various frauds practiſed in this line frequently brings a certain loſs on the revenue, without either altering or extending the ſtate of the Trade; for it is a known fact, that this mode of encouraging commerce and manufactures alone amounts to near a million a year.* It was ever conſidered as the moſt prudent plan in fiſcal police, and as ſuch was, as we have ſeen, in a great meaſure adopted in this country, to diſcharge all Cuſtoms payable on domeſtic manufactures at their exportation, and alſo on the raw materials uſed in them at their importation. By the firſt, the merchant will be encouraged to ſend more goods on better terms abroad; and by the laſt, the manufacturer will be enabled to ſell cheaper at home.

## WINES.

Before the Revolution, the Æra of thoſe mer-

* YOUNG's *Annals of Agriculture*, &c. No. I. p. 44.

cantile

cantile jealouſies between France and England, which gave riſe to the monopolizing ſyſtem of reſtrictions and prohibitions, the Wines of Bourdeaux and Languedoc were ſold in London at eighteen and twenty pounds a Ton, and more than two-thirds of the conſumption through the whole Kingdom was imported in Engliſh bottoms. * But in the year 1713, in conſequence of heavy duties, their price had riſen to nine ſhillings the gallon, which, according to a regulation of 5 Anne, ch. xxvii. fixing the Wine Ton at 252 gallons, amounts to 113l. 8s. the Ton. †

From general obſervation it appears, that the moſt thriving, and the richeſt-flavoured Vineyards, are thoſe ſituated between the 40th and 50th degrees. In theſe latitudes, we find Portugal, Spain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, part of Greece, and the Southern Circles of Germany, countries which undoubtedly produce excellent Wines. For general uſe, thoſe of France have ever been preferred; and among them, the Wines of Burgundy, Champagne, and the neighbourhood of Vienne, are eſteemed the beſt. I ſhall readily be ex-

* DAVENANT's *Political Works*, V. III. p. 146. Edit. 1723.

† A weekly Paper of that day, called the *Briſtol Poſt-Boy*, No. 625.

cuted reciting the long catalogue of names by which they are diſtinguiſhed, when it is known, that the province of Burgundy alone produces eighteen or twenty different ſorts: they uſually receive their titles either from the ſpot of cultivation, or the various modes of preparing the liquor. The Wines of the ſouthern provinces are of a ſtronger body than thoſe made in other parts of the kingdom; Languedoc, in particular, produces a ſort which has all the fulneſs of the Portugal grape, with a very ſuperior flavour, and is purchaſed in the country for about 12l. the Ton. Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Nantes, Rouen, Marſeilles, Toulon, are the principal places where the Wines of France are ſhipped for exportation, and it is calculated that near 6000 Tons are ſent annually to England from Bourdeaux alone. According to the ſtatement of Mr. NECKER, France exports yearly, in Wines and Brandies, to the value of 1,640,625l.* yet it is well underſtood that this branch of trade, under proper regulations, might ſtill be conſiderably increaſed. At preſent, beſide the original expences of the land, and the neceſſary coſts of preparing its produce, the proprietor of a Vineyard is chargeable with heavy duties at every ſtep he takes towards exportation; the

* *Adminiſtration of Finance*, &c. V. II. p. 117.

conveyance

conveyance of the Wine to Bourdeaux, a Commiſſion to the boat-maſter upon its receipt and delivery, Fees to the officers for affixing the town mark, and certain port duties before the goods can be diſcharged, or the bill of freight delivered. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, there are circumſtances which render this ſpecies of property in France more eligible than moſt others. It was not, as ſome imagined, becauſe the land was unfit for any other purpoſe, that the proportion of Vineyards had ſo much increaſed ſome years ago as to require an edict to reſtore ſuch eſtates as had been purchaſed and planted, to their original cultivation; for it was found that much land, which had produced excellent crops of corn, was at that time converted into Vineyards. It is very natural to prefer a ſpecies of property which is free and ſecure, to one which is caſual and reſtricted. Property in *Wine*, by reaſon of the perſon who holds it being at liberty either to ſtore it up, or to carry it to a home or a foreign market, has, in France, theſe advantages over property in *Corn*. Beſide, with very few exceptions, the Wine-trade is not like that of Corn, entangled with monopolies, ſo that the expences and riſk of cultivation, at leaſt, are anſwered by the competition of purchaſers. Contrary alſo to the cuſtom on eſtates in Corn lands, the proprietor of a Vineyard

uſually

uſually keeps it in his own hands, and as ſuch a ſtock as would be neceſſary in the management of a farm is never required in a Vineyard, he thence derives an obvious advantage; for, as it has been obſerved, while thoſe who are employed in its cultivation ſometimes want even the neceſſaries of life, the landlord makes from three to five pounds an acre.

It ſhould appear that the cultivation of Vineyards has proved in France very favourable to population; for it has been aſſerted, that the ſame ſpace which, in a Corn country, employs 1400 perſons, requires more than 2600 when planted with Vines. * If this be really the caſe, would it not ſhew more wiſdom in the French Government, if inſtead of iſſuing Edicts for *diſvineyarding* large tracts of country, it would turn its attention towards a removal of the unmerciful reſtrictions, both upon the tranſportation and exportation of Corn? † This, by laying open a larger market for the vend of the commodity, would induce many to ſet their hands heartily to the plough, and by lowering the price of grain, would enable the peaſantry to live leſs wretchedly than they do at preſent.

* Beausobre, *Etude de la Politique*, &c. Tom. I. p. 51.

† This was in ſome meaſure done in 1768, but not in a manner ſufficiently liberal to produce its full effect.

By ſuch a meaſure, the increaſe of farms would, it is highly probable, be ſo far from diminiſhing the number or extent of Vineyards, that it would rather encourage and improve them; with this difference, perhaps, that many fertile ſpots, now miſapplied to the culture of the vine, would be ſeen bearing plentiful harveſts of grain, while the barren heaths of Guienne, the mountains of Auvergne, and other unprofitable parts of the country, would be glowing with luxuriant vintages. This reciprocal benefit is actually ſeen to take place, in ſome inſtances, even under the preſent regulations; for it is remarked, that Corn is no where better cultivated in France, than in the richeſt Wine provinces.

Beſide the advantage that France will derive from England, ſhould the preſent Treaty take effect, a large market is now open to her Wines in America, which hitherto was ſupplied chiefly from Madeira, Liſbon, and Fayal, unleſs indeed this extenſive country ſhould ſucceed in cultivating the vine in ſome of her ſouthward provinces. This is far from being improbable, when we recollect the reſult of an experiment once made there. "Between thirty and forty years ago, a "provincial act paſſed in South Carolina, by "which a bounty of 60l. proclamation-money "was to be given to any perſon that ſhould "produce a pipe of ſound merchantable Wine, "made

" made from vines of the growth of the colony. " A man of the name of Thorpe did receive " the bounty for three pipes; his Vineyard was " within thirty miles of Charles-Town, and was " under the care of a certain Portugueſe pro- " cured for the purpoſe, but at his death the " land was converted to other uſes." * Lord SHEFFIELD is of opinion notwithſtanding, that America is never likely to be a good Wine country; but ſhould this really prove to be the caſe, it will be owing to other cauſes than defects either of ſoil or climate, principally perhaps to that preference which is at preſent given to the cultivation of rice and tobacco. But how, it may be aſked, is England likely to be affected by ſuch a revolution in the ſtate of French agriculture, and ſo wide an extenſion of the Wine trade? Without adverting to the common, but very juſt argument on the ſuperior advantage which every commercial country ought to obtain from rich and induſtrious competitors over one whoſe cuſtomers are poor and indolent, let it be remembered, that fair competition muſt, in every point of view, be a ſpur to induſtry; in any ſingle branch of trade its

* Lord SHEFFIELD's *Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 56, a Note.

good effects are ſoon viſible among that particular claſs of merchants or manufacturers; but when it is encouraged between different departments of trade, it then becomes manifeſt in the general induſtry and opulence of a nation. The ſame reaſoning may be applied to the caſe of two neighbouring kingdoms, where a competition, eſpecially of the latter ſort, muſt naturally tend to increaſe the demand and improve the quality of thoſe articles in which they reſpectively excel. There is not much cauſe, therefore, for England's jealouſy at any increaſe of demand on the vintages of France. What loſs does the woollen-draper ſuſtain by the improving trade of his neighbour the wine-merchant? Has he not rather cauſe to rejoice in an event which, by furniſhing the whole neighbourhood with a richer cuſtomer, muſt neceſſarily bring into his hands ſome ſhare of his ſucceſs? In the ſame manner both reaſon and experience ſhould teach us, that from this dreaded extenſion of the Wine-trade of France, our own ſtaple commodities will neceſſarily derive many future benefits in the woollen, iron, and hard-ware manufactories. But, it is urged, this is not the only objection—Portugal is a better cuſtomer than France, and therefore we ought in return to deal with her in preference. Suppoſe, for a moment,

moment, that this were a fact, "Are the ſneaking arts of underling tradeſmen to be thus "erected into political maxims for the conduct "of a great empire?" * A liberal trader purchaſes at the cheapeſt and beſt market, with no regard to ſuch little intereſts as this. It appears, however, from undeniable proofs, that our favourite trade with Portugal has long been on the decline, and gradually turning more and more againſt us for almoſt theſe laſt thirty years. At preſent our exports to that country ſcarcely amount, upon an average of ten years, (except during the ſhort ſpace of our late Spaniſh hoſtilities, which naturally cauſed them to increaſe) to one half of what they did in the year 1760. † The fact is, the interchange of the two countries was never ſettled upon a fair and equal foot of reciprocity, and the Portugueſe thus taking advantage of an original defect in the *Methuen-Treaty*, have allowed the woollen manufactures of other countries to compete with ours in their markets. In the article of linens

* SMITH's *Wealth of Nations*, B. IV. ch. iii.

† Where the imports are materials for manufacture, a trade may be conſiderably againſt a country, and yet be, upon the whole, a beneficial one. This was the caſe with our Ruſſia trade; but it does not hold good in the preſent inſtance of our intercourſe with Portugal.

they

they have decidedly given the preference to France; and as to our cottons, they have put them under an abſolute prohibition. The clamours that have conſtantly been raiſed on every attempt in this country to reduce the enormous duties on French Wines, and the threats of Portugal to withdraw from a Treaty ſhe has ſo palpably violated, ought ſurely to give us no alarm; the preſent effects of that Treaty will not juſtify it. But what would be the conſequence ſuppoſing theſe threats to be actually executed, and the prohibitions on both ſides eſtabliſhed? Why, clearly this; that Portugal has effectually loſt a market for near 12,000 tons annually of ſuch Wines as no other country will purchaſe of her; while the ſuperior quality and cheapneſs of our woollens muſt ſecure them a market any where, and "probably "under another name, and by another channel, "even in Portugal itſelf." *

BRAN-

* Lord SHEFFIELD, to whoſe excellent writings I am indebted for the above remark, has in a clear manner ſhewn, that in Ireland the conſumption of Portugal Wine has greatly increaſed within theſe laſt twenty years, and that French Wines have proportionably diminiſhed. (*Obſervations, Americ. Comm.* in the Appendix, p. 291) Ireland exports to Portugal camblets and butter; her woollens were not included in the Treaty of 1703. The preference ſhe

has

## BRANDIES.

The *Wine Brandy* of France is in the higheſt eſtimation, and by a decree of Parliament in the year 1699, this is the only ſort permitted to be ſold in Paris, under a heavy penalty.

The provinces of Poictou, Anjou, Touraine, Orleans, and the diſtrict of Nantes produce the beſt that is applied to home-conſumption; the different kinds for exportation are made in Bourdeaux, Cogniac, Charente, Burgundy, and Champagne; though the aforenamed provinces of Poictou, &c. ſupply a great deal alſo for this purpoſe. Brandies, indeed, are made in almoſt all the wine countries, though it is obſerved, that the ſuperior wines make the worſt; accordingly in many places they only apply them to this ſervice when they are pricked, or otherwiſe injured. The rich-flavoured vintages of Greece, and of the ſouthward parts of Italy, afford very little Brandy, and of an inferior quality: the yearly export of this article

has lately given to the Portugueſe Wines, is with a view of being put on a foot, in this reſpect, with great Britain; and there is reaſon to think, that ſhe is able to reap conſiderable benefit from ſuch an admiſſion. Her exports to Portugal in 1783, were 174,493l. her imports, 92000l. and it is ſaid theſe were paid for by her exported Butter alone.

from

from France is computed at more than half a million ſterling; * at the latter end of the laſt century, when the duty was no more than 9l. a ton, this country imported annually upwards of 6000 tons; † in conſequence of the high duties at preſent ſubſiſting, the conſumption has long been diminiſhed, and upon an average of late years the quantity imported has ſunk three fifths. The merchants of Rochelle and Nantes ſeldom freight a ſhip either for America, Africa, or the North Seas, without making Brandy a part of the cargo. We receive a conſiderable quantity of our conſumption through the hands of the Dutch, who carry on an extenſive trade with France in this article. It has been a received opinion, that although neither Engliſh malt or molaſſes ſpirit have ever been brought to the perfection of Wine-Brandy, yet the fault is not ſo much in the grain or fruit whence the extract is made, as in the manner of preparation. Both grapes and grain have the ſame principles of oil, ſalt, phlegm and earth, and differ only in the quantity and connection of thoſe principles. A patent, not many years ago, was obtained for making Brandy

* NECKER's *Adminiſtration of Finance*, Vol. II. p. 207.

† *Conſiderations on Trade*, &c. in the year 1724.

from carrots and parſnips; the latter, it was found, after a variety of curious experiments, made a liquor very nearly reſembling the Wine-Brandy.

If the motives for complaint be exactly ſtated, it is not without reaſon, that our Weſt-India merchants have taken alarm at the reduction of duties on this article, imported from France, as propoſed in the Tariff. From the memorial preſented by them to the Miniſter, the reſult of their meetings, and the opinion of intelligent individuals on the ſubject, the following appears to be the ſum of their apprehenſions and their wiſhes.

They requeſt that the *Rum* of the Britiſh Weſt-India Iſlands ſhould be put upon the ſame foot with regard to the *Brandies* of France, that the wines of Portugal are to the wines of France; for, unleſs ſuch a proportionate adjuſtment of duties take place, the ſale of a foreign produce will be encouraged to the detriment, and perhaps the ruin, of what may be termed a domeſtic one. It is well known that Rum muſt pay more freight from the place of production than Brandy, and that it ſuffers more by leakage and evaporation, requires larger capital, and from the nature of the trade renders the merchant liable to greater loſs

of

of intereſt upon it. This, among other inſtances, might be exemplified in ſeveral late obſtructions of the intercourſe between the Iſlands and North America, which, to the great diſadvantage of the trader, muſt neceſſarily always turn the ſuperfluous Rum into the Britiſh market. It appears moreover, that while theſe obſtructions have riſen in this ſtaple of Weſt-India trade, the French have been induſtriouſly facilitating the vend of their brandies by a variety of regulations. That the intereſts of the ſugar-trade are ſo naturally connected with thoſe of Rum, that whatever impedes the one muſt injure the other. * That this trade is of no ſmall aſſiſtance to the marine ſkill and ſpirit of Great Britain, by reaſon of the length of the voyage and the number of Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen employed in it, whereas the Brandy-trade will be carried on in ſhort trips between England and France, with a large proportion of French veſſels and crews. That on this account, added to the conſideration that prime coſt, freight and inſurance are all higher, the quantity of Rum ſmuggled from the Weſt-Indies is very ſmall, compared with that of

* It is ſaid the Rum inſures to the planter the expences and caſualties of the ſugar; and they reckon, that each hogſhead of ſugar produces from 40 to 60 gallons of Rum.

Brandies from France; the duties therefore on the former are more faithfully collected. That as the prime coſt of Brandy in France is upon the average 1s. 2½d. a gallon, and that of Rum 2s. 4d. in order to preſerve a juſt proportion in the reduction of the duties on each, if thoſe on Brandies, as propoſed in the Tariff, be lowered two ſhillings and ſixpence the gallon, thoſe on Rum ſhould be lowered one ſhilling and nine pence. *

Such appear to be the principal grounds of complaint from this reſpectable body of merchants, whoſe remonſtrance, there is little doubt, will have its due weight in the deliberations of Parliament, eſpecially when it is conſidered alſo what an injury our home-diſtilleries may receive by precipitately expoſing them to an unequal competition. Will it not, moreover, admit of a doubt, whether the propoſed rate of reduction of the duties on French Brandies be ſufficient to prevent ſmuggling, for even the duty of 7s. the gallon, is almoſt 500 per cent. on the prime coſt, and whether by ſuch an ineffectual reduction of the duties, the revenue will not ſuſtain a conſiderable loſs with-

* See "the Memorial of the General Meeting of the Weſt-India Merchants and Planters," preſented to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

out

out any adequate compenſation or advantage to the public. *

## IRON, STEEL, and COPPER.

There is ſcarcely any branch of manufacture in which labour and ingenuity are ſeen to add more to the original value of materials than in that of Iron and Steel; of this the beautiful fabrics of Birmingham and Sheffield afford numerous examples, and it is equally as evident in the ſtupendous foundries at Carron and Colebroke Dale, as in the minuteſt operation of the

* The principal laws which regulate the duties on the importation of Brandies, are 7 and 8 W. III. c. xx. laying a duty of 30l. the ton on ſingle, and 60l. the ton on double proof, repealed by 6 Geo. II. c. xvii. § 2; which, inſtead of it, levies an exciſe of 1s. for every gallon of ſingle proof, to be paid by the importer before landing, over and above all other duties, and of 2s. on double proof. See, alſo 2 W. and M. c. ix. § 12. 12 W. III. c. xi. § 8. 3 Ann. c. iv. v. 5 Ann. c. xix. made perpetual by 1 Geo. I. c. xii. 6 Geo. I. c. xxi. § 12. 8 Geo. I. c. xviii. § 11. 6 Geo. III. c. xlvii. The act paſſed 1 W. and M. c. xxxiv. which entirely prohibits the importation of French goods, appears by the preamble to have been intended principally for the encouragement of the home diſtilleries; this is the more probable, becauſe in the following year a heavy duty was laid on the exportation of corn. 2 W. and M. c. ix.

workſhops at Saliſbury and Woodſtock. In reflecting on the various applications of theſe metals to agricultural, naval, military, mechanical, and œconomical purpoſes, we are immediately ſtruck with their extenſive utility and importance, and are abſolutely loſt in amazement, when we attempt to trace them through all their gradations and forms, from the cannon or the anchor to the lancet or the watch-ſpring. Though iron ore is known to be very plentiful in this kingdom, it is not poſſible to aſcertain, with any accuracy, what proportion of the product is worked up, becauſe it is not only intermixed with foreign iron, but is very commonly concealed under a foreign name. In the year 1719, when a bill "for extending the laws concerning the importation of naval ſtores from the Britiſh American Colonies," was agitated, it was computed that *two thirds* of what was conſumed in this kingdom, was imported from Sweden and Ruſſia. * It appears, that on an average of ten years, our trade in this article with the Baltic may be reckoned at 27,500 tons, value 314,000l.

In the year 1749 another bill was propoſed for encouraging the importation of bar-iron

* Gee, *Trade conſidered*, p. 16.

from

from America, in the courſe of which the ſpirit of monopoly deſcended to very ſhameful expedients, to prevent its taking effect. Among other things it was boldly aſſerted, that American Iron was of a quality very inferior to Swediſh, though by the *Officer's Reports*, then preſented to the Houſe, it was ſhewn that various experiments made a few years before, in the King's dock-yards, had proved it in all reſpects of equal goodneſs. It was alſo urged, that if we withdrew from the iron trade of the Baltic, we muſt forego the advantages of importing their hemp and flax; but the event, as far as it was tried, did not juſtify ſuch apprehenſions. * The fact was, their fears were of a more ſelfiſh nature. The proprietors of our iron-foundries knew it was not for their intereſt that an event ſhould take place, which would lower the price of the metal, and thus by a narrow-minded policy they attempted to ſacrifice a public benefit to their own advantage. The bill, however, paſſed, but more, as it ſeems, from a diſſatisfaction then prevailing between our court and Sweden, than from any patriotic motive. By the permiſſion granted to import both pig and bar

* POSTLETHWAYTE's *Commercial Dict.* Art. Naval Stores.

iron from America in Britiſh veſſels duty free, no inconſiderable advantages have been given to our foundries over thoſe of other nations, * which added to the ſuperior dexterity of our workmen, and the large capitals employed, have ſecured us the market, even in countries whence we import the materials for this manufacture: it ſhould ever be remembered, that if a duty upon raw materials be allowed in moſt caſes to be prejudicial to the manufacture, it muſt on iron perhaps be more ſo than on any other commodity; for being a principal article in naval ſtores, it is of the higheſt importance in ſuch a country as this; beſide, as it may ſerve in almoſt all inſtances for ballaſt, &c. and is therefore of eaſy tranſportation, even the freight on ſuch a merchandiſe ought to be very moderate.

While the aforementioned Bills were depending in Parliament, a general alarm was ſpread through the country, by reports of great waſte and deſtruction of the woods in all thoſe parts where Iron works were erected. POSTLETHWAYTE, writing in the year 1759, ſays, that "Where Cord-wood had before been ſold at 5

*. The American iron mines have an advantage over thoſe of Ruſſia in their proximity to the coaſt; for ſome of the moſt productive mines in Siberia are above 3000 miles from Peterſburgh.

"and

"and 6 ſhillings the Cord, it then ſold at "upwards of 12 or 14, and in ſome places was "all conſumed; it is neceſſary therefore," he adds, "to preſerve our timber from theſe con- "ſuming furnaces, leſt they at laſt lay hold of "our Oaks."* This is reported to have been the caſe in Ireland alſo, where they have often been obliged to procure even building timber from Norway.‡ It is well known that the iron works in Mendip-hills had long ſince cleared away all the oaks in that foreſt, and that notwithſtanding the ſucceſsful adoption of Pit-coal in ſome of our moſt extenſive works, woods are ſtill preſerved in many places for the ſupply of the foundries.†

The uſe of wood in the iron works of France is very general, owing to the great ſcarcity of coal in that country, and yet it is a remarkable fact, that the provinces, where thoſe manufac-

* *Commercial Intereſt of Great Britain*, V. I. p. 151.

‡ The clamours of that day were increaſed by the ſelf-intereſt of Wood, who made himſelf afterwards ſo well known in the Copper Coinage of Ireland. This man had a leaſe of all the mines on the Crown Lands of thirty-nine counties, whoſe furnaces were ſupplied with pit-coal; beſide iron work in various parts of the kingdom. ANDERSON's *Hiſt. of Commerce*, V. II. p. 303.

† CAMPBELL's *Polit. Survey of Great Britain*, V. II. p. 43.

tories

tories are eſtabliſhed, and eſpecially Burgundy, ſupply the Metropolis with more than two thirds of its fuel.‡

Great improvements have of late years been made in the proceſs of every branch in this valuable manufacture. The uſe of coak in England inſtead of charcoal, though ſome are of opinion that it debaſes the quality of the iron, has been found to anſwer for many of the larger works, and the application of ſteam to ſome of the moſt laborious operations, ſuch as the draining of coal, the ſupplying blaſts to the furnaces, the raiſing the forge hammer, promiſes ſtill further advantages.

The iron works in Colebroke Dale, are ſup-

‡ NECKER's *Adminiſtrat. of Finance*, &c. V. I. p. 255. At la Chauſade in the generality of Moulins, is an iron foundry, which during the late war furniſhed moſt of the extra anchors uſed in the Royal Navy of France. With half the labour there employed, the combined navy of France and Spain might have been ſupplied from ſuch foundries as thoſe of Colebroke Dale or Carron. At Moulins they excel in cutlery and in ſmall works, but in general Engliſh goods of this ſort have the preference even in the French markets; for it is a known fact, that Engliſh jewels and various toys and trinkets, *Bijouterie d'Angleterre*, are ſold *openly* and *avowedly* as ſuch at the *Palais Royal* at *Verſailles*, *Fontainbleau*, and even within the hearing of his Majeſty. TUCKER's Third Letter to Mr. NECKER, p. 45.

poſed to be the moſt extenſive in England, employing upwards of one thouſand hands. "The founders there earn from eight ſhillings "to ten ſhillings and ſix-pence a week, and "boys of fourteen years old, ſeven ſhillings, at "drawing coal baſkets in the pits."* For pitcoal is here principally uſed in making the bar iron.

The neighbouring hills ſupply both in ſufficient quantities, and every ſtep in the proceſs is performed on the ſpot, from digging the iron ore to the laſt finiſh of the manufacture. Nothing can convey to a ſtranger greater ideas both of the ſtock of raw materials, and the ingenuity of the workman in this ſingular ſpot, than the Bridge of caſt iron, which now opens a communication between two populous ſides of the Severn, and the waggon-ways paved with the ſame metal. The following pictureſque remark will give a ſketch of the ſcenery, and relieve the neceſſary dryneſs of the ſubject. "Colebroke "Dale is a winding glen between two immenſe "hills, which break into various forms, being all "thickly covered and forming moſt beautiful "ſheets of hanging woods. Indeed too beautiful "to be much in uniſon with that variety of

* YOUNG's *Annals of Agric.* &c. V. IV. p. 167.

"horrors

" horrors which art has ſpread at the bottom. " The noiſe of the forges, mills, &c. with all " their vaſt machinery, the flames burſting " from the furnaces, with the burning of the " coal and the ſmoak of the lime kilns, are " altogether horribly ſublime, and would unite " well with craggy and bare rocks like St. " Vincents at Briſtol." * The principal works belong to Mr. Derby, Mr. Wilkinſon, Mr. Reynolds, and Meſſrs. Bancks and Onions; the laſt of theſe are the proprietors of a machine for boring cannon from the ſolid caſt; another of which is erected at Willey, by Mr. Wilkinſon.

It has been obſerved, that for many years no cannon has been caſt in that part called the Dale Works, in which Quakers are employed; " it being inconſiſtent with the principles of that " peaceable ſect, to make engines for the de- " ſtruction of their fellow creatures." ‡

The

* YOUNG's *Annals*, &c. V. IV. p. 168. See alſo a more particular account in the ſame volume, p. 343, &c. by E. J. HARRIES, Eſq. of Henwood.

‡ Ut ſup. p. 348. The only articles in which our iron manufactories ſeem to have ſuffered during the late war, were Nails and Axes, but it is ſaid the American demand for theſe articles is now returning. Ut ſup. p. 158.

Iron

The great irregularities and doubts in our Mine Laws contributed very much to retard the progreſs of improvement, in the preparation and working up of COPPER, though it was known to abound in many parts of the kingdom, till the preſent century. Since that time it has been brought to great perfection, and applied to almoſt as great a variety of uſes as iron, eſpecially in domeſtic utenſils, for which it is peculiarly calculated by reaſon of its malleability, flexibility, elaſticity, and ductility.* The principal copper mines in Europe are thoſe near the Hartz and at Miſnia in Germany, in the Archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, in Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Treves. In France, at Amiens, Abbeville, Rheims, Troyes, and Beauvais in many parts of Norway and Sweden, in the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia, near Breſcia, and in Sicily.‡ Our own country produces

Iron imported according to the navigation-act, pays £2. 8. 6. a ton, and has a drawback on exportation of £2. 5. 2; in 1778, an additional 7s. 7d. If not imported according to the act, there is a duty of £2. 17. 10. a ton, and the drawback is £2. 14. 6. Iron wares manufactured not otherwiſe rated, or not prohibited, pay on importation 12s. 4d. and draw back on exportation 11s. 5d. The duty on iron wares manufactured in Ireland, is 14s. 3d. ½. a cwt. on importation.

* CAMPBELL's *Politic. Survey*, &c. V. II. p. 45.

‡ BEAUSOBRE, *Etude de la Politiq.* Tom. I. p. 152.

great

great plenty of this metal, particularly in Cornwall, Staffordſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Cumberland. The mines of Cornwall, which produce about a fifth part of the ore uſed in England, are computed to afford to the value of £200,000* annually; and in Angleſey, there is a mountain which has a bed of this ore more than forty feet in thickneſs, which ſupplies annually between ſix and ſeven thouſand tons, and employs above forty furnaces in ſmelting it. Beſide the pure native Copper, there is a ſpecies produced by precipitation in vitriolic ſprings in different parts of Europe. Thoſe of Wicklow in Ireland, are very productive. It is ſaid that one ton of iron bars laid on theſe ſprings, produces a ton and nineteen cwt. of Copper mud, and that each ton of the mud when ſmelted yields ſixteen cwt. of the pureſt Copper, which ſells for £10 a ton more than the Copper which is fluxed from the ore.† The Copper mills at Namur

* *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, V. XLVII. p. 502, V. LXVIII. p. 94, and 101; WATSON's *Chemical Eſſays*, V. I. ch. 6.

† BORLASE, *Nat. Hiſtory of Cornwall*, p. 207. The ſubordinate manufactories of braſs, verdigris, vitriol and pins have ſprung from the improvements made in the copper branch. In the laſt it is truly aſtoniſhing to conſider the many

Namur are perhaps the moſt extenſive in Europe, and it was there that the water engine now in common uſe, was firſt applied in the year 1695, to put the ponderous machinery of theſe works in motion.* If we may rely on the repreſentations given, the ancients far exceeded us in their manner of tempering and refining this metal; at preſent the advantages of dexterity in this branch, are not confined ſo particularly to one country as to make it an object of commercial jealouſy. It is probable therefore that the interchange between France and England for commodities of Copper or Braſs, will be comparatively ſmall, and that they will continue to draw their ſupplies chiefly from their own materials and induſtry.‡

many ſubdiviſions of labour which are required to make an article, ſo proverbially inſignificant. The engravers and bell-founders alſo employ great quantities of this metal.

* BEAUSOBRE, *Etude de la Polit.* T. II. p. 154.

‡ We are ſaid to export annually 2000 tons of vitriol. Theſe works have lately much declined, by reaſon of the home conſumption being ſupplied with the acid, as procured from the burning of ſulphur. WATSON'S *Chem. Eſſays.* V. I. p. 226.

HEMP.

## HEMP, FLAX, LINEN.

HEMP and FLAX, conſidered as the materials of various kinds of fabrics, are of the higheſt conſequence, and it may be obſerved of them, that they place the connection between agriculture and manufacture in a ſtronger light than any other produce of the ſoil.* There are few countries in Europe which do not grow them; thoſe round the Baltic, particularly Ruſſia, produce ſuch great quantities, that they may be truly ſtyled their ſtaple commodities.† The Flax cultivated in Germany is intirely worked up at home, for the exportation of the raw materials is ſtrictly prohibited; in conſequence of this, the looms of that country ſupply France with a great proportion of her linen goods, though of late years much attention has been paid to the cultivation of Flax in the provinces

* We read of two officers in the Roman empire, called *Procuratores Linificii*, who ſuperintended the two great ſtorehouſes at Ravenna and Vienne. From this circumſtance much learned debate has been ſtarted concerning the ſtate of the cultivation and manufactories of Hemp and Flax among the ancients.

† It is calculated that Ruſſia alone imports into England Hemp to the amount of 400,000 l. annually.

of

of Picardy, Brittany, Maine, Dauphiné, and Alſace. Flax alſo is plentifully produced in Flanders, eſpecially between Ghent and Courtray, where perhaps it is an object of more delicate huſbandry than in any other part of Europe. The conduct of the Flemiſh on this article affords a good leſſon to monopoliſers of every claſs; for though linen and lace be the great manufactures of their country, they permit the free exportation of Flax on this principle, that it encourages production and improves cultivation, and in the end renders the commodity both cheaper and better. The Flax in the province of Zealand is in high eſteem, and is uſed by the Dutch in the fabric of their finer linens, though it may be remarked, that weaving and whitening are in general the only parts of the whole proceſs performed to any great extent in Holland, and that moſt of the thread is ſpun in Germany and Pruſſia. The city of Bologna ſupplies Venice with both Hemp and Flax; and in Spain the provinces of Valencia, Grenada, and Murcia, furniſh the great manufactories of ſail-cloth and cordage eſtabliſhed at Port Real, and the linen fabrics in ſome of the neighbouring diſtricts. In this iſland, particularly in Scotland, great attention has been paid to this branch of culture, though much diſpute has

ariſen on the expediency of carrying ſuch a meaſure to any length in South Britain.* It has been urged, that Hemp and Flax ſo much exhauſt and impoveriſh the land, that it requires conſtantly to be manured, and to lie fallow every third year at leaſt; that the plants are exotics and degenerate in this country, ſo that it is found neceſſary to recruit them very frequently: to this it has been added, that to encourage their culture would be againſt the intereſt of ſuch a country as England, becauſe it would moſt probably operate to the diſcouragement of the growth of *Wool*; moreover, that the ſame effect would be produced here as is in France by the ſubſtitution of vineyards for farms; for as it is reckoned, that one acre of Flax will ſet as many hands to work as twenty acres of Wool, it would in all probability too much reduce the price of land. The decreaſe of the importation of Iriſh Wool and Woollen Yarn into England about fifty years ago, it is aſſerted, was not owing, as generally ſurmiſed, to its being run to France and other countries, but to the great increaſe of the linen manufactures,

* See various Reports delivered to the Houſe in 1773, when Parliament was petitioned for a further aid to the linen manufactures.

eſpecially in Ulſter, which, for their ſupply, had planted ſuch quantities of Flax, that they had not ſheep ſufficient for their own markets, whereas not many years before they ſupplied themſelves and the neighbouring provinces. *

Many of theſe objections, however, are diſproved by experiment and obſervation. It has been found that there is much land in the north of England and in Scotland, which produces both Hemp and Flax as high and as ſtrong as any imported from Riga; and that in ſome other parts, they are cultivated in as fine a ſtate as in the ſouthern climates, inſomuch, that Engliſh Hemp has been known to fetch from 34 to 40s. the cwt. when what was brought from the Baltic ſtood at 28 to 35s. and this cultivation is carried on in rich and deep ſoils without any ſymptoms of impoveriſhment or degeneration; on the contrary, we are told of a prodigious large field in the iſle of Axholm in Lincolnſhire, which though ſowed with Hemp, has not been fallowed for many years, and always produces

* A Letter to a Member of Parliament in 1732, cited by ANDERSON, *Hiſt. Comm.* Vol. I. p. 340. It is ſaid that Flax, infuſed in water, communicates a poiſonous quality to it, which gave riſe to Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. xvii. forbidding its being watered in any running ſtream or common pond.

excellent crops; * this is alſo, in a great meaſure, the caſe at Spalding Moor in the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire. † But be the fact as it may, ſurely there is room enough for very fair and extenſive experiments of it, on ſome of the numerous moors and barren heaths of ſand which disfigure this iſland.

The moſt reaſonable objection ſeems to be the danger of diminiſhing the growth of Wool, by occupying much paſture land for theſe purpoſes, and conſequently of ſacrificing the intereſt of an anoient and valuable manufactory, to one which is by no means ſo productive or ſo natural to the people. Experience has now clearly proved, that the manufacture of *Linen* is very profitably eſtabliſhed and carried on in countries where land and labour are cheap; on this account it has ever been the care of our Legiſlature to encourage it in Scotland and Ireland. By an Act paſſed in 1728, great advantages were granted to ſuch as ſhould introduce the Linen fabric into the Highlands, and ſince that time it has received occaſional ſupport by various premiums and bounties.

* GEE *on the Growth of Hemp and Flax.*

† CAMPBELL's *Politic. Survey*, &c. Vol. II. p. 89.

Their

Their good effects are ſufficiently ſhewn by the following ſtatements:

The value of the Linen ſtamped for ſale in Scotland, was

| | |
|---|---|
| From 1728 to 1733 - - | £. 662,938 |
| From 1747 to 1752 - - | 1,344,814 |
| In 1754 alone - - - | 506,816 |
| In 1760 - - - - | 522,153 |
| In 1773 - - - - - | 462,751 |
| In 1774 - - - - - | 492,055 |
| In 1775 - - - - - | 561,527 |
| In 1777 - - - - - | 710,633 |
| In 1779 - - - - - | 551,148 |
| In 1780 - - - - - | 622,187 |
| In 1782 - - - - - | 775,098 |
| In 1783 - - - - - | 866,983 |
| And in 1784 - - - - - | 932,617 |

Thus it appears, that though there was a ſudden defect in 1773, it recovered and has almoſt doubled itſelf within the ſhort ſpace of theſe laſt ten years! The ſtatutes made in the years 1696 and 1697,* "For encouraging the Linen manufactories of Ireland, and for admitting the free importation of Flax and Hemp from that kingdom into England," were the means of

* 7 and 8 W. III.

carrying over many French refugees, and laid the foundation of her fabrics in Linen and Cambric; and two other Acts in 1703 and 1704, which extended this permiſſion in favour of Ireland to the Engliſh plantations in America *, ſtill further promoted their increaſe. Theſe privileges were not beſtowed inconſiderately; they were the reſult of mature and ſolid reaſoning on the natural and political ſituation of that iſland, and have fully anſwered their propoſed end. Some years previous to the paſſing the firſt of theſe Acts, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, among other reflections on the ſubject, obſerves, that "of all women, the Iriſh "were the apteſt and beſt calculated to ſpin "linen thread well; who, labouring little in "any kind with their hands, have their fingers "more ſupple and ſoft than others of as poor "condition amongſt us. This," he adds, "may certainly be improved into a great ma-"nufacture of Linen, ſo as to beat down the "trade of France and Holland, without croſſing "any intereſt of trade in England. Beſide "this, the ſoil and climate are peculiarly fit "for the growth of Flax and the whitening of "Linens." † This has been amply verified

* 3 and 4 Ann. c. viii.

† Miſcellanies, p. 13. Ed. 1681.

in

in the progreſs which the manufacture has made during the preſent century. The particulars of this matter have been ſo frequently brought before the public of late years, that it would be needleſs to enlarge upon them here.* The following facts will be ſufficient to ſhew how profitably ſuch a branch of trade may be adopted, when circumſtances like thoſe in Ireland or Scotland, concur to favour the cultivation of its materials. It is calculated that an acre of land will bear from 3 to 6 cwt. of flax, which is worth 40s. a cwt. at the average therefore of 4 cwt. this will ſet the produce of each acre at 8l. The number of acres thus cultivated in Ireland is computed at 13,000. So that the amount of the whole produce is 104,000l. This produce is raiſed in its value eight times when in its manufactured ſtate, which brings it to 832,000l. but it is ſaid, that a quantity equal to one fifth of the raw materials grown in the country is imported annually, this by adding 170,000l. more, makes the whole annual amount of the linen manufacture upwards of one million ſterling. A ton of flax is ſuppoſed to employ

* Lord SHEFFIELD *on the Iriſh Trade. Arrangements with Ireland conſidered*; with *the Reports of the Linen Committees*, in 1773, and Vol. IX. *Parliamentary Regiſter*.

annually 40 perſons, and from the foregoing computation it appears, that the quantity uſed is about 3125 tons, ſo that this manufactory employs upon the whole 125,000 hands. In Scotland about 1540 tons are annually worked up, which gives employment to 61,200 hands; thus the linen manufactures in both countries, may together be reckoned to employ 186,200 hands. From the ſuperiority of wages it has lately been feared, that the newly erected cotton works in many parts of Ireland may materially injure the linen branch; for a workman will there earn from 13s. to 15s. a week, a lad of 13 years old 8s. or 9s. and at the ſpinning-jenny as much as 15s.—whereas at linen weaving the worker of fine goods can earn no more than 8s. 6d. and of coarſe goods no more than 6s. 3d. a week. Girls alſo, who at flax ſpinning get only 2s. or 3s. a week, will earn in the cotton works from 9s. to 11s. But the properties of flax appear in a more ſtriking point of view, when it is conſidered as the material of the *lace* manufacture. In Flanders where it has been, in this branch, carried to its higheſt perfection, they reckon that one pound only, which is worth from 4d. to 5d. will, when worked up, be raiſed to the value of 7000 florins, upwards of 600l.

which

which probably is as ſtrong an inſtance of the lucrative effects of human ingenuity as can be produced in the caſe of any other raw material whatever. * And it has therefore been calculated, that if France were to exchange on equal terms, her wines for the lace of Bruſſels, ſhe would give the produce of many thouſand acres of wines for every ſingle acre of flax †

By 17 Geo. II. ch. xxx. the affixing counterfeit ſtamps to foreign linens imported, in imitation of the ſtamps on Iriſh and Scotch linens, and expoſing them to ſale, as alſo the affixing counterfeit ſtamps to any linen manufactured in Great Britain or Ireland, and ex-

* A table exhibiting at one view the comparative price of *firſt materials* with their proportionately *improved value*, in every branch of manufacture and art, would be a curious and uſeful work.

† There is an excellent book on the ſubject of this chapter, by Mr. MARCANDIER, of which there is an Engliſh tranſlation in 1764. I quote the tranſlation from an opinion, that even adepts in the French language will read works like this, and all others which treat of agriculture, manufactures, or finance, to the beſt advantage in good Engliſh tranſlations, becauſe they muſt contain many terms of art and revenue, and a variety of political idioms which it is difficult to comprehend; for the ſame reaſon in matters of ſcience alſo it is, in general, better to give extracts from foreign books in our own language.

poſing

poſing the ſame to ſale, will incur the forfeiture of the goods and a penalty of 5l. for each piece. The different duties on the importation of this article are principally regulated by 10 Ann. c. xix. 12 Ann. c. ix. and 7 Geo. III. c. lviii. and lxxii.

## WOOL.

During the 12th and 13th centuries the cloth manufactories of the Netherlands were the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, but being ill ſupplied with materials at home, they carried on an extenſive trade with this Iſland. To ſupply this great demand, a ſociety of merchants, called afterwards the *Wool Staplers*, combined for the purpoſe of collecting the Wool in various parts of the country to convey it to the ſea ports for exportation, and it appears that this branch of foreign traffic was for many years, not only permitted, but encouraged; indeed, it ſhould ſeem that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the firſt *legal* prohibition occurs as late as the year 1660, by which forfeiture of the goods and ſhip, and a penalty of 20s. for every ſheep, and 3s. for every pound of wool exported, is incurred. * I am, neverthe-

* 12 Car. II. c. xxxii. § 3.

leſs,

leſs, aware that as far back as the reign of Edward III. temporary reſtraints had been laid, and that both James and Charles iſſued proclamations, and after them, the Long Parliament interpoſed its authority with this view;* it ſhould alſo be remembered, that though a ſubſidy on the raw material was very common in earlier times, yet the firſt regular grant on the manufacture occurs in 21 Edward III. "This," ſays HALE, "was founded on reaſon and equity, for as the King had a cuſtom of inheritance ſettled in him of Wools exported, and much of our Wool now began to be draped into cloth and thus exported, it was thought fit, that he ſhould have his proportionate benefit of this commodity exported in *manufacture* as well as in *ſpecie*."† It was in this king's reign alſo, that the woollen manufactory firſt gained a rooted eſtabliſhment in this country. RYMER has preſerved a letter of protection, ſent by Edward in the year 1331, to a manufacturer in Flanders, to invite him and his family to ſettle in England; ‡ and

* RYMER's *Fœdera*, Tom. IV. fol. 744. Tom. XIX. fol. 155.

† HARGRAVE's *Law Tracts*, cap. xxvi. and cap. ix. of the third part of HALE's MS.

‡ *Fœdera*, Tom. IV. fol. 496. For various regulations of Ed. III. in this article, ſee alſo Tom. IV. fol. 702.

and many other families we are informed followed their example. De Witt, ſpeaking of this event, obſerves, that before the removal of the weaving trade to England, the Engliſh were little better than ſhepherds; but this ſtep was the foundation of her commercial glory, and the ruin of the Netherlands." *

It was then that our anceſtors began to feel their real intereſt, and diſcovered that whilſt men, women, and children were buſied in working up the *fleece*, they were alſo fed with the *mutton*. Then our people multiplied, they acquired wealth and power, and leſt the Nobles of the land ſhould forget the fleece, they were ſeated upon *woolſacks* in the Senate Houſe. † Notwithſtanding the increaſed demand for home conſumption, which muſt neceſſarily have followed this event, we find that the duties from the foreign ſale of raw wool amounted, even then, to 250,000l. annually. ‡ This ſtrongly

720. 723. 736. 744. 751. 757. Very coarſe cloths were made in England before this time, and it was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the manufactory of the very fine ſort was eſtabliſhed.

* *Intereſt of Holland*, p. 27.

† Moore's *Conſiderations on the exorbitant Price of Proviſions*, p. 42.

‡ *Memoirs of Wool*, V. I. p 82.

illuſtrates

illuſtrates an obſervation, that the market for this article in the rude beginnings of improvement is very ſeldom confined to the country which produces it; becauſe being eaſily tranſported without any preparation, and affording materials for many manufactures, the induſtry of other countries may occaſion a demand much beyond that of its native country.* The unjuſtifiable ſeverity of our ſtatutes againſt the exporters of Wool has been compared to the ſpirit of *Draco*'s laws. The 8th Eliz. c. iii. is a diſgrace to any penal code; it is however virtually repealed by the ſtatute of Charles above-mentioned, which is itſelf alſo, with reſpect to the penalty, expreſſly repealed. But cruel and impolitic as ſuch prohibitions may now appear, they might at that time have been neceſſary; for before ſuch manufactories have arrived at a tolerable degree of perfection, fiſcal law requires to be ſanctioned with heavy penalties, in order to prevent the unprofitable exchange of fabrics, in return for raw materials.

At the cloſe of the laſt century the practice of *owling*, as it was termed, that is ſmuggling the Wools of England and Ireland into France, was a ſubject of heavy complaint.†

* *Wealth of Nations*, B. I. c. ii.

† ANDERSON's *Hiſtory of Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 126.

The

The unlimited extent of our market rendered the conduct of our own ſtaplers inexcuſable in this reſpect, and a very fit object of parliamentary control: but, after the reſtrictive clauſes in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 28, it might naturally be expected, that ſuch a ſtep would be taken by the ſiſter kingdom. An attempt to monopolize a branch of trade, by paſſing laws to limit its price in the market, is in effect little elſe than to beſtow bounties upon ſmuggling. Statutes may paſs and penalties may be inflicted, but it will never prevent materials of general demand from finding their way clandeſtinely to the moſt advantageous purchaſer. * This the Venetians experienced in the 16th century, when they aimed at a monopoly of the raw ſilks of Cyprus at a ſtated price, and actually appointed officers to watch and regiſter the exportations of that iſland, yet with all their care, the inhabitants contrived to ſmuggle immenſe quantities of this article to Marſeilles, and various other French and Italian ports in the Mediterranean. † In the ſame manner and for the ſame reaſons the Iriſh

* 12 and 22 Geo. II. in a great meaſure remedied this evil, and it was further relieved in 1778, and again in 1780 and 1781.

† Mauroceni, *Hiſtoria Venetiæ*, p. 543, Edit. Argentor. 1692.

woollen

woollen trade found its way into France. It was carried to ſuch an alarming length about thirty years ago, that it became a matter of very ſerious conſideration. The advantages which France muſt derive by ſuch a contraband trade are obvious, when it is underſtood that for many purpoſes, her own wool is too coarſe and ſhort in the ſtaple, but being mixed in the proportion of two packs to one of Iriſh or Engliſh wool, it can be worked up very profitably into what is termed the beſt ſecond cloths, which are thoſe in moſt general uſe. It was then and has ſince been the received opinion, that no other mode of preventing this grievance, could be more beneficially adopted, than that of permitting the Iriſh to ſend their manufactured woollens to England, under a duty at importation, to be drawn back on exportation to foreign countries. * A propoſed Bill "for preventing the ſmuggling of Wool," &c. has lately been the cauſe of general meetings in ſome of our coaſt counties, the reſults of

* The effect of the woollen trade of France on our market, at the beginning of this century, is exemplified by the following fact: When the plague raged at Marſeilles, the demand of foreign countries for woollen goods were ſo large, that wools of both England and Ireland were inſufficient to ſupply them. Jos. GEE, *Trade and Navigation*, &c. p. 67. POSTLETHWAYTE'S *Commercial Intereſt*, &c. V. I. p. 363.

which

which are already before the public. The ſpirited reſolutions of the meeting held in the county of Suſſex, called forth a letter from Mr. JOHN ANSTIE, who maintains that the preſent laws are ſo defective as to want a thorough reviſion, and, that, although it is difficult in this branch ſo to regulate them, that they ſhall not impoſe reſtrictions on particular perſons, yet he truſts, that ſuch conſiderations will have no weight in deciſions of Parliament *

I ſhall now proceed to ſtate a few particulars reſpecting this valuable material and its manufacture. In point of quality the Wool of Spain claims the firſt rank, and of this what is called the *Eſcurial Fleece* is the fineſt and the deareſt. It ſells ſometimes on the ſpot for 6 livres, about 5s. a pound, which is more by two livres than the average price of Spaniſh wool in France. The wools of Caſtille and Arragon, and the black wool of Saragoſſa, are alſo in high eſtimation. When next to Spain, England is allowed

* See *A Letter to the Land Owners, Wool Growers, &c. in the County of Suſſex*, dated Deviſes, Nov. 21, in the "Morning Chronicle," It was upon the reſult of an examination of Mr. ANSTIE and Mr. AFFLECK before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and in conſequence of their report, that leave was given to bring in the Bill.

to

to produce this article in the greateſt perfection, it muſt not be underſtood in too general a ſenſe; for there is ſcarcely any thing more variable in its price and quality than Engliſh wool. The fleeces in the neighbourhood of Roſs, in Herefordſhire, are extremely fine, and have been known to ſell as high as 2s. 4d. the pound, though at other times they fetch as low a price as 1s.—they were lately at 16d. the pound. The South Downs produce wool from 9d. to 1s. 10d. the pound; this is alſo the average price of ſome of the fine foreſt wools, which when mixed with the Spaniſh, ſerve to make the ſecond priced fine cloths. The wool near Bridgnorth and about the Wrekin in Shropſhire, is in general bought at 1s. 6d. the pound, and this is uſually the price of Lemſter wool. In many parts of Lincolnſhire it is at 6d. in the Weſt Country at 4½d. and on Romney Marſh, it has been known to ſell at 3d the pound. In ſhort, it would appear, upon a more particular inveſtigation, that between the extremes of Herefordſhire and Kent, there are all the various prices from 2s. 6d. to 3d. in the pound. A univerſal average through the kingdom therefore, as it is in many other caſes, muſt be in this inſtance deceitful and unſatisfactory, and it has

accordingly been ſtated to be from 8d. to 1s. the pound. One obſervation, however, may ariſe from ſuch a ſtatement, namely, that the average price, ſince the reign of Ed. III. has fallen, for wool was then ſold at about 2l. 16s. a pack, or 2½d. a pound: this has happened becauſe our prohibitions on exportation, our grants of importation, duty free, from Spain, and our monopoly of the exportation from Ireland, all conſpired to enlarge the market ſtock, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of demand from the improved ſtate of ſociety, and the extention of our manufactories. * As the quality of an article, in a great meaſure, regulates its price, this alſo is found to be proportionally various in different parts of the kingdom. † It is unneceſſary to enter largely into this matter. I ſhall only obſerve, that the wool of Herefordſhire and Shropſhire,

* SMITH's *Memoirs of Wool*, V. I. p. 6. 17. 44. V. II. p. 9. 54. 176. 182. Prohibited exportation has, in Portugal, a ſimilar influence on the price of its gold and ſilver. N. B. The price of wool in very early times is eaſily aſcertained, becauſe it was common to pay the King's ſubſidy in this article. The average price in Ireland has lately been from 9d. to 14d.

† Wool in quantity alſo is remarkably uncertain, for it has been known, that 20 fleeces of fine wool have ſcarcely weighed more than one of a larger ſort.

and

and ſome of the heath wools are preferred to mix with the Spaniſh, for the beſt ſuperfine cloth, and that it is principally from the wool of Lincolnſhire, Nottingham, Northamptonſhire, and parts of Kent, that our worſted goods are manufactured. That of Lincolnſhire, though coarſer than the Kentiſh wool, being longer in the ſtaple, is in great requeſt for the Norwich manufactories, and it has been thought that both of them might be ſucceſsfully ſubſtituted in the room of Spaniſh wool for making the chain of the finer cloths; a matter which ſurely deſerves ſome attention, when it is remembered how much the quantity of fine wool is diminiſhed lately in Shropſhire and many other parts of England, from the introduction of a large breed of ſheep, by means of incloſures and artificial graſſes. The Scotch wool, it is imagined, if it were not greaſed and tarred to preſerve the animal, would, in many parts, equal the fineneſs of our Herefordſhire fleeces. Spaniſh wool is purchaſed in England from 2s. 3d. to 3s. 9d. a pound, though the late average has been from 3s. 7d. to 4s. It is ſaid that $\frac{9}{10}$ of what is uſed is of the quality from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 9d. a pound, and that a yard of broad cloth requires two pounds and a half of

this wool. France has never excelled in the growth of this article, but has always depended upon foreigners, for the materials of her beſt woollen manufactures. By the Family Compact, ſhe imports the wool of Spain, free of all duty for ever, and it is to be feared that ſhe is indebted to the flocks of Lincolnſhire and Kent for many of thoſe long combing fleeces, which are worked up at Amiens, Abbeville, and the various manufactories of Normandy, and Bretagne, * which ſhe receives principally through the Low Countries.

The province of Berry, famous for a peculiar kind of Cloth which goes by its name, is ſaid to be ſupplied with wool from ſheep of its own growth, and we are lately told that M. D'Aubenton, near Montbard, in Burgundy, has a breed of ſheep whoſe wool is ſo fine as to be ſold at five livres the pound. This gentleman is one of the principal promoters of a ſpirit which is now gone forth in France, for encouraging and improving the

* Amiens and Abbeville, in Picardy; Darnetal, Feſchamp, Caen, St. Lo, Alençon, Rennes, Bourg, and St. Brieux, in Bretagne, are the chief woollen manufactories, though there are many others of note in thoſe provinces: they are, for the moſt part, employed on ratteens, ſerges, and fine cloths, ſome of which they profeſs to make entirely of Spaniſh wool.

growth

growth of Wool: He is the author of a work called *Inſtruction pour les Bergers et pour les Proprietaires de Troupeaux*, which, though not ſo extenſive as M. CARLIER's *Traité des Bêtes à Laine*, from its form and the ſimplicity of its ſtyle, is better calculated to have its intended effect. Theſe are mentioned, as good antidotes to any deſpondencies which may ariſe upon hearing of ſuch national exertions among our neighbours, for they prove that their countrymen are at preſent ſo very far behind us in the cultivation of ſheep, and labour againſt ſuch a variety of natural and political obſtructions, that there can be little room for jealouſy on our part. Much has been ſaid of the lowneſs of wages and the cheapneſs of materials in this branch of French manufacture, yet it is very demonſtrable, that both their very fine cloths and their coarſe woollens are as dear as in England. The beſt cloths of Sedan, Louviers, and Abbeville, ſell at twenty ſhillings the Engliſh yard, and they are generally thought to be of a ſlighter texture and leſs durable than our ſuperfines. At Auxerre, Samur Macon, Grenoble, Vienne, Arles, and many towns in the province of Orleans, coarſe woollen Serges are for their quality, found to be higher priced than the ſame

articles are with us: Their ſecond cloths alſo, which do not excel ours of twelve ſhillings the yard, either in the texture or the dreſſing, are ſold at Vervins, Fontaine, Chalons, and other parts of Champagne, and about Poictiers, from fifteen to ſixteen livres four ſols the yard: At Romantin indeed, in the generality of Orleans, there is a manufactory of white cloths, made with equal proportions of Spaniſh and Berry wool, which is in high eſtimation, and from certain local advantages, ſends out its goods better finiſhed, and at a more reaſonable price. Of the preference given to our woollens before thoſe of France, LORD SHEFFIELD has related a curious inſtance. "In the late war, when "France granted a ſum of money to Congreſs, "for cloathing the American troops, Mr. "Laurens, jun. was employed to provide it; "but inſtead of laying out the money in France, "he went to Holland, and bought Engliſh "cloths, and ſent them to America. The "French Miniſter complained, but Mr. L. "juſtified himſelf by ſaying it was his duty to "do the beſt he could with the money, and that "the Engliſh cloths of equal price with the "French, were much better."*

* *Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 11.

In

In the preparation of our woollen cloths, and the manner of offering them to the market, the proceſs in the north of England and in the weſt, is remarkably different. It may readily be conceived by a little reflection, how, not only the price of the commodity and its propoſed quality, but the induſtry alſo, and even the morals of the workmen may be affected by this circumſtance. Let us compare with ſuch a view the ſtate of the two manufactories; though it muſt be confeſſed, that by the general aſſimilation of manners and cuſtoms, which has ſpread of late years into the remoteſt provinces, and among all ranks of life, the lines of contraſt are gradually growing fainter.

In many parts of Yorkſhire, the woollen manufactory is carried on by ſmall farmers and freeholders, who both buy and grow wool, and whoſe wives, daughters, and ſervants ſpin it in the long winter evenings, and at ſuch times as they are not employed in their farms and dairies; the maſter of the family either ſells this produce in the yarn market, or has it wove up himſelf. It is then milled, cleanſed, and brought to market, but when ſold there, he can be paid for no greater number of yards than the cloth will meaſure after having been well ſoaked in water. Thus all frauds in ſtretching, tentering, &c. are

effectually prevented. The perſons who buy this cloth, generally act upon commiſſion, at a very low rate; and afterwards get the cloth dyed, dreſſed, and finiſhed. The whole in this manner paſſes through various hands independent of each other, and being thus independent, they are all rivals, and are animated with the ſame deſire of bringing their goods to market upon the cheapeſt terms, and of excelling each other. Their journeymen likewiſe are little removed from the degree and condition of their maſters, and know that the induſtry and frugality of a few years will enable them to ſet up for themſelves. Thus they are generally moral, ſober, and diligent, the goods are well made and cheap; and a riot or a mob ſcarcely known amongſt them. In the Weſt, this whole buſineſs is carried on by a very different proceſs, and the effects are accordingly oppoſite. Here one perſon with a great ſtock and large credit, buys the wool, is maſter of the whole manufactory from the firſt ſtage to the laſt, and employs perhaps a thouſand perſons under him; theſe, many of them, work together in the ſame ſhop, conſequently have opportunities to corrupt each other, and to cabal againſt their maſters. They have little hope of advancing themſelves by their induſtry, and therefore think it no crime to

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get as much wages as poſſible, and too often reconcile their conſciences to frauds on their maſter's property. It is needleſs to point out the other ill effects of ſuch management; they have frequently made themſelves ſufficiently notorious in riots and inſurrections.* I ſhall not enter into any particulars on either of theſe manufactories, but cannot forbear adding one remark more before I quit the ſubject.

In a *Letter* ſigned A WOOLLEN DRAPER, we are told of above *five hundred* clothing towns in France, upon the authority of a Liſt, publiſhed about ſix and twenty years ago.‡ Now admitting this to bear as ſtrongly on the point as poſſible, if the writer really *be* that *Woollen Draper* which he would wiſh to *ſeem*, he cannot be ignorant of the inſufficiency of ſuch a ſtatement alone, to eſtabliſh any eſtimate. But I can take upon me to aſſert on my own obſervation and inquiries, that from ſome of the towns enumerated in his liſt, the ſcanty trade carried on in the year 1760, has totally vaniſhed, that in

* As I never remember to have met with a clearer account of this well-known diſtinction between our northern and weſtern Clothiers, I did not ſcruple to adopt it almoſt in the very words of a Pamphlet now become ſcarce, called *Inſtructions for Travellers*, by Dr. TUCKER.

‡ P. 14, and the Liſt annexed to the *Letter*.

ſome

ſome others, particularly in Champagne and Soiſſons, the buſineſs is conducted on a very contracted ſcale, for the moſt part in a few private houſes, and that in many places which formerly were famous for their fine cloths, the looms are now principally employed in the working of Serges, Etamines, and light Druggets. It muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed that new manufactories both of fine and coarſe Woollens have been erected in that kingdom, and that ſome old ones have been extended; but numbers alone are an inadequate teſt in this matter; it may admit of a doubt, if we except Languedoc, whether the broad looms of Glouceſterſhire and Wiltſhire do not annually ſend to market, almoſt as large a quantity of the very beſt cloths, as all the provinces of France. How long this may continue to be the caſe, is another queſtion. On this ſcore, the WOOLLEN DRAPER merits every commendation for the zealous and ſenſible manner in which he ſtands forth to call the attention of his countrymen and fellow traders to a point ſo cloſely connected with their future commercial welfare. To a perſon whoſe inquiries have never been directed to the ſubject, it is not eaſy to explain how wide an influence the ſtate of our Woollen trade has on national proſperity. Falling on many other branches of manufacture,

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an injury may be comparatively partial, and though perhaps ſeverely felt for a time, by that claſs of artificers whoſe ſtock and ſkill are engaged, will not occaſion much diſtreſs, beyond a certain neighbourhood and a particular rank of men: But *the Manufacture of the Fleece* is accompanied by ſuch a train of connections and dependencies through which it both communicates and receives ſupport, diſperſes employment and wealth among ſuch a variety of departments, and is ſo undiſtinguiſhably united with our Landed Property, that it neceſſarily involves in its fate, the intereſts of the whole community, from the Yeomanry to the Throne. On the diſcuſſion therefore of an article ſo extenſive and important in its conſequences, we have no reaſon to doubt that the wiſdom of the Legiſlature will be diſpaſſionately exerted: That on one hand they will not ſuffer the prejudices of falſe patriotiſm or the low jealouſies of trade to obſtruct the meaſure, if it appear to be expedient, merely becauſe it may confer equal and reciprocal advantages; nor on the other, be prevailed upon by ſpecious arguments and intereſted declamation, to run any riſk of ſacrificing the produce perhaps of more than half the looms in the Weſt of England, to the

unneceſſary

unneceſſary Porcelains of Worceſter, or the ornamental Toys of Sheffield, Saliſbury, and Birmingham.

## GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

There is ſcarcely any point in POLITICAL ŒCONOMY which has been ſo variouſly diſcuſſed, as *the effect of the price of labour on Commercial Competition.** It ſhould be obſerved, that the queſtion of high and low wages is not to be determined merely by the pay of the workmen, but by the proportion which ſuch wages bear to the prices of all other articles, either native or foreign, and by comparing the manufactured product alſo of different countries, with a view to diſcover at what average price the ſame goods can be equally well made in each. By ſuch a mode of inquiry it will in general be found, that labour in a country of low wages is comparatively dearer, than where wages are high, and that conſequently in moſt caſes the rich country will be able to underſell the poor one, becauſe its goods will more than compenſate by their quality for any exceſs of price. It cannot be

* TUCKER'S *Four Tracts*, Tract. I.—SMITH'S *Wealth of Nations*, B. I. c. viii. Edit. 1786.

doubted,

doubted, that as "the liberal reward of labour "is the neceſſary effect, ſo is it the natural "ſymptom of increaſing wealth;" for when the productive powers of labour and ingenuity are thus excited, induſtry muſt in all its departments become more refined, as well as more dextrous and active in its exertions. In a manufactory where the different proceſſes are diſtributed to different workmen, each will in his diſtinct branch be more expert than if he were under the neceſſity of undertaking many different branches at once in order to gain ſubſiſtence. Such dexterity begets competition, and this neceſſarily reduces the price; "whereas in the country "of low wages, it is in the power of one wealthy "man, to monopolize the trade, and to ſet "what price he chuſes on his goods."* That the low price of labour will not command a market, may be ſhewn by the following inſtances: When the iron of Sweden arrives in England, it has paid duties of export, import, and the expence of freight; to this muſt be added the coſts of carriage to and from the places of manufacture, the price of the labour there beſtowed upon it, and the duty to which it is liable on its return home under this new

* *Four Tracts*, p. 34.

form;

form; yet with all this accumulated charge upon it, we are able to underſell the Swedes themſelves in their own market; and every attempt on their part at competition has proved hitherto ineffectual. It is exactly the ſame caſe with the Bay Yarn of Ireland, which, notwithſtanding all the charges of importation, conveyance and manufacture, is worked up here and returned cheaper to the Iriſh market, than if it had been manufactured at home. It is not, as ſome have lately aſſerted, the higher price of our labour which has given the French an advantage over us in the Levant and Portugal trades, but rather the indifference of our manufactures, and their unwillingneſs to accommodate their fabrics to the taſte of thoſe markets, in which, by reaſon of the climate, cheap cloths of a ſlight texture will ever be preferred to ſuch as are more durable. After all, it may be doubted whether it would be worth while for our clothiers to attempt the recovery of this trade, at the riſk of ſacrificing a better; for every loom employed in the weaving of Druggets, muſt occupy materials and labour which might be more profitably applied in the working of broad cloths; add to this, that the ſame competition which would be ſerviceable in higher branches, by rendering the goods cheap, muſt

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here be prejudicial, becauſe the original low price of the commodity, would ſink the neceſſary reduction of profits beneath the merchant's conſideration. An effort made at Penryn, in Cornwall, about 30 years ago, proved unſucceſsful for want of proper encouragement, and almoſt ruined the patriotic projector.* Ireland indeed by being admitted to the advantages of the Methuen-Treaty, might in time, perhaps, be enabled to ſupplant France in the Drugget trade. But the circumſtance of being underſold is not the only ground of apprehenſion for the ſafety of trade, with thoſe who draw their arguments from a compariſon between the value of labour in different countries. The danger of emigration has been largely inſiſted upon, and fears have been ſuggeſted that manufactories will be transferred from a dear country, to one where the means of ſubſiſtence are cheap. It would be loſs of time to ſhew the fallacy of ſuch a ſuppoſition, and the abſurdity of conceiving

* I will not ſuppoſe ſo little virtue to be in that part of England, as the Author of *Propoſitions for improving the Manufactories, &c. of Great Britain*, in 1763, would inſinuate, when he ſays, "this gentleman was almoſt ruined, "becauſe he thought it his duty to vote againſt the preſent "repreſentatives of the borough of Penryn, at the laſt "general election." p. 32.

that artificers of any clafs would voluntarily exchange high wages for low, or, in other words, would quit good proviſions and comfortable habitations, for meagre fare and wretched hovels. In fact, the high price even of the neceſſaries of life, has ſeldom been injurious to the progreſs of induſtry, nay in ſome inſtances it has been the means of calling forth new and ſucceſsful exertions of labour and ſkill, and has led to very important diſcoveries in Arts and Manufactories. It was when the Piedmonteſe were oppreſſed by the taxes and exactions of the SFORZAS, who for ſome years perſiſted in heavy aſſeſſments of their harveſts, and their markets, that they firſt carried their fabrics of ſilk to a degree of refinement and expedition, by the introduction of mechaniſm into ſome parts of the proceſs, that no European country was able to enter into competition with them.* It is not difficult in ſhort

* MURATORI, Diſſert. VII. Tom. III. It is through them we are indebted to this circumſtance, perhaps, for LOMBE's ſtupendous Machine, on the river Derwent, near Derby. He procured a model of it in Piedmont, by working under the diſguiſe of a common Weaver.—By 5 GEO. II. c. viii. SIR. T. LOMBE obtained 14,000l. as a reward for this ſervice to the Silk Manufactory. The Machine contains 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 movements, which work

ſhort to conceive, that, in a ſtate where the balance between the prices of labour and of wages is left to regulate itſelf, and is never made the object of civil policy, the rate of common ſubſiſtence and of the conveniences of life may be ſo low as to prevent any improvement in manufactures, if not entirely to exclude them. In opulent countries ſuperior ſkill may often countervail the effect of high wages. This is obvious in all thoſe articles where labour and materials are the leaſt part of the value, and may be exemplified in moſt of the articles in the warehouſes of Mancheſter and Birmingham.

A want of taſte and variety in their fabrics was formerly the general complaint againſt our Engliſh manufacturers, and they were on that account frequently ſupplanted by their neighbouring rivals, the French, whoſe accommodating invention was continually deviſing new forms and patterns of goods, and ſtudying textures ſuited to the taſte and climate of their various cuſtomers; but of late years a total revolution has been effected in our manufac-

work 73,726 yards of organzine ſilk thread every time the water wheel goes round, which it does thrice in a minute. Its erection in this country was conſidered as ſuch an injury to Piedmont, that an Italian artiſt, it is ſaid, was ſent over to England to aſſaſſinate the proprietor.

tures; for while in ſome of them, men of ſcientific and liberal minds have, by a ſeries of well-conducted experiments, produced new forms and combinations of materials, others have beſtowed upon them ſuch variety, ſtrength, and beauty of workmanſhip, that they are diſtinguiſhed by a decided preference in almoſt every market. This is the caſe in Switzerland, with reſpect to our cottons, woollens, and various articles of houſehold furniture, our finer works in iron and ſteel, the claſſical productions of our *Engliſh Etruria*, and the long catalogue of toys and trinkets, notwithſtanding the vicinity of France, and the boaſted cheapneſs of her labour.* It is ſtill more pointedly the caſe in America, for when that country had contracted a debt of four million ſterling, to the merchants of this iſland, for accumulated ſtores of Britiſh manufacture, they attempted to ſeek ſupplies in their own induſtry, and in the trade of France and Holland; but what has been the conſequence? after many fruitleſs attempts to ſuperſede the uſe of our manufactures, they have at laſt choſen to become our cuſtomers again, becauſe, as their merchants confeſs, our fabrics are better and cheaper than thoſe of other coun-

* TUCKER's *Third Letter to Necker*, p. 39, 41.

tries, and this they think it for their advantage to do, though (as it hath been obſerved) "at "an expence of 40 per cent. at leaſt dearer than "they might have done had they continued "their allegiance;" it appears alſo that even in the late war, ſuch was the preference given to our cotton manufactures, that the Mancheſter traders could have found employment for many thouſand additional hands.*

Examples might eaſily be multiplied, if it were neceſſary, to ſhew the fallacy of concluſions, in favour of the manufacturing intereſt, drawn from the low price of proviſions and labour. Our ſiſter kingdom would furniſh many; for there, notwithſtanding the patriotic bounties of the Dublin Society, and a great variety of parliamentary aids, Britiſh manufactures of almoſt every ſort, under the diſadvantages of Freight, Duties, Land Carriage, and Commiſſion, are able ſucceſsfully to compete with Iriſh goods in their own market. The more labour and ingenuity is exerted in any manufacture, the ſtronger will theſe principles be found to operate on the competition in favour of the rich country. Timber and metals

* Lord SHEFFIELD's *Commerce of the American States*, p. 28.

may be procured more readily, and purchaſed cheaper in the foreſts of Norway, and at the mines of Siberia; but trace theſe materials through the whole progreſs of their fabrication in different countries, the moſt advantageous market will be found among people who are rich and flouriſhing, whoſe artificers more than compenſate by their dexterity and expedition for the advanced price of their wages. The tedious and aukward proceſs of undivided labour, a neceſſary effect of ſlender capitals, muſt ſhrink from ſuch a competition, nor preſume to oppoſe any negative or partial benefits to be derived from poverty, to that ſpirit of enterprize, that habitual induſtry and ſkill, which are in opulent kingdoms excited, cheriſhed and improved, by the animating influence of large Demand, the ſecurity of Stock, the unimpeded circulation of Capital, high Credit, and extenſive Correſpondence.

It is in ſuch countries, that the happy effects of liberal reward are exemplified in a variety of inventions, conducive to the real comforts of life, and in works of ingenuity and taſte, which innocently add to the elegancies of ſociety: even exotic manufactures, under ſuch circumſtances, will be tranſplanted and carried to maturity, with compa-

which has oppreſſed many other branches, was ſoon after exerted upon this, by ſubjecting its materials to a duty on importation. Nothing but that ſuperiority of ſkill and capital, which characterizes the trade of England, and enables it to maintain the market under many diſadvantages, could have ſupported the fabricks of Mancheſter thus taxed, againſt the ſpirited exertions of the Rouen manufactory, conducted by an Engliſh artiſt, * and aſſiſted in its capital by large periodical ſupplies from Government. That the cotton manufactory has, in ſome meaſure, been injurious to the woollen branch cannot be diſputed, but whether this ought to be conſidered as a *univerſal* injury, may admit of doubt; ſuch an inference cannot ſurely be drawn from any influence it has had in the neighbourhood of its ſettlement, either in England or Ireland, nor from its general effects on our national wealth and population. † But as a proof

* Mr HOLKER. Two of ARKWRIGHT's Mills are now erected in the neighbourhood of Rouen. The judicious bounty of OUR KING, to the newly erected Cotton-works, at Eton, is worthy of grateful remembrance.

† It is computed, that in Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, above 500,000

 perſons,

proof to how great a length the contracted jealouſies of trade may be carried, we have heard even the Linen manufactory exclaimed againſt, as an exotic. About fifteen years ago, when a bill was propoſed for its encouragement, the zealous advocates for the woollen trade were not content to oppoſe the Bill on what might have been admitted as tenable ground, but attempted to convert a *political objection* to the expediency of the meaſure into a *phyſical impediment* to the production of the materials neceſſary in this fabric. If it be allowed to argue from our home conſumption, we may queſtion whether under proper regulations our Linen manufactory might not be rendered as productive as our Cotton; for it has been computed, that we afford at preſent a market to Ireland in this article, to the amount of one million ſterling annually, and that although four fifths of this

perſons, including women and children, are employed in the cotton branch. In Ireland, beſide the eſtabliſhments near Dublin, there are now large Cottonworks in the county of Kildare. Their rapid progreſs may be inferred from this circumſtance, that a ſolitary cottage on the Bog of Allen, in the year 1780, is now converted into a flouriſhing town. SHEFFIELD's *State of Ireland*, p. 197.

importation

ratively leſs care and expence than foreign vegetables: another country may indeed, in ſome articles, enjoy certain local and natural advantages, againſt which competition would be impolitic, and in ſuch a caſe there is no doubt, greater benefit would ariſe by becoming her cuſtomer, than by waſting capitals in extravagant projects, which might be very productively employed in native manufactories. "It would be an unreaſonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of Claret and Burgundy in Britain," * and in this inſtance it might be for the intereſt of a country to be underſold by foreigners in her own market; but I cannot agree to make ſo general an application of this rule as ſome writers have done, or to ſubſcribe to that unqualified poſition, that whenever a manufactory cannot ſtand the teſt of competition, the ſooner it is aboliſhed the better: great allowances ſhould be made for the periodical derangements to which all artificial ſyſtems are liable, nor are our fabricks of ſilk and cotton to be immediately aboliſhed, though they may not enjoy that uninterrupted train of ſucceſs, which uſually attends a manufacture ſupplied with native

* *Wealth of Nations*, B. IV. ch. ii.

materials. Had ſuch policy been purſued, the wealth of *Coventry* had never been added to the general ſtock, * nor *Paiſley* have ſupplanted the ſilks of *Spitalfields*, or ſupplied (as is known to be the caſe with that manufacture) moſt countries in Europe with its gauzes. The materials of the cotton manufactory are entirely of foreign growth, but being eſtimated, as every manufactory ought to be, in proportion to its power of improving ſuch materials, and according to its demand of ſkill and labour, there are few which can claim a preference. It may be doubted, whether, in any branch of buſineſs, larger capitals are at preſent embarked than in this; yet it is not many years ſince doubts were entertained, how far it might be expedient to encourage a manufacture which ſeemed ſo likely to intrench upon the intereſts of our woollen trade; † and the ſame bad policy

* The average annual amount of ribbands manufactured at that place is about 500,000l. KEYSLER in his Travels, in the year 1730, having ſpoken of the difficulties with which the ſilk manufacture of this country long ſtruggled, adds, "but now in Italy itſelf the ſilks of England are moſt eſteemed, and bear a greater price than thoſe of Italy; ſo that at Naples when a tradeſman would highly recommend his goods, he proteſts they are right Engliſh." *Collection of Travels*, V. II. p. 276.

† *An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation*, 8vo. p. 137. 1762.

which

importation be for home conſumption, we ſtill find employment for our own manufactories to an equal if not a greater amount.* Men who ſuffer themſelves to be thus governed by the ſelfiſh and illiberal principle of monopoly, will find perpetual occaſion for jealouſy and alarm, ſince every benefit conferred upon another branch of trade, muſt ſeem to operate as an injury to their own. Each claſs has ſome partial view to gratify for its profeſſional advantage; that which will ſuit the Mancheſter trader may prejudice the merchant of Leeds, and the gratification of both theſe will raiſe an outcry in Birmingham, and Staffordſhire. But it is not the flouriſhing or the declining ſtate of any particular manufacture, that neceſſarily implies general ruin, or that ought to impede a meaſure ſalutary to the reſt. Minds truly patriotic are ſwayed in their operations by nobler motives, and aim at objects more extenſive and important than the gratification of private intereſt.

It ſhould be the object of a commercial country to obſerve a ſcrupulous impartiality in the extenſion of its care to every uſeful branch

* A report of the late board of trade, relative to the linen manufacture in July, 1780. SHEFFIELD's *State of Ireland.*

of

of trade, and to diſtribute its bounties and protections in ſuch an equal manner among all claſſes of manufactures, that they may have no private or detached intereſt, but growing up together in due ſubordination, may form one compact ſyſtem of national induſtry.

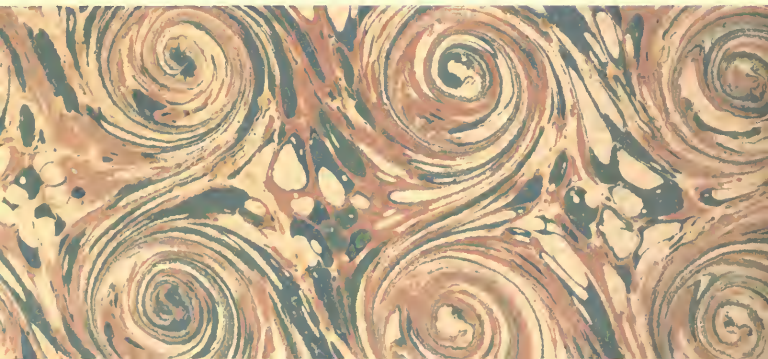
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